Byzantine ÉTUDES
STUDIES *Byzantines*

ESSAYS IN HONOR OF PETER CHARANIS

OFFERED BY HIS STUDENTS

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

PREFACE

This book is a collaborative tribute to a man who is renowned as a great scholar but who has also been, at the same time, a distinguished and significant teacher.

The lasting achievement of a teacher is, of course, both real and elusive. It is not so directly visible as is a corpus of published scholarship. Yet, its impact endures in the living continuity of the students who felt it. We who were the students of Peter Charanis hope that our own various careers may bear diverse testimony to what he has done for us. But we wish to join in a specific act of tribute that may commemorate our debt to him in some tangible and permanent form. Hence this publication, one of two volumes planned as acts of homage to him. The other volume, to be edited by Professor Angeliki Laiou, will consist of contributions by distinguished scholars who represent the admiring peers and colleagues of Peter Charanis around the world. The present volume is the testimonial of Peter Charanis's students, who are its exclusive contributors.

This project is the result of long discussions among these contributors, dating back over the course of more than a dozen years. In the process, a variety of formats and approaches have been considered, and the present composition of the volume is the outcome of eventual common agreement. It should be stressed that this project represents the joint homage of all nineteen of those who have, to date, completed or neared completion of their graduate study under our master. The twelve contributors to the following pages are joined in spirit, and in their expressions of tribute to Peter Charanis, by all of the others, who, for a variety of practical reasons, have not found it feasible to contribute directly themselves.

The undersigned, who has served as co-ordinator and editor for the project, wishes to thank all of these fellow-students for their involvement and co-operation in what has been a prolonged and complicated, but, we hope, a satisfying undertaking. To the eleven other contributors, particular thanks are due for their patience and understanding during the intricate process of editing. Thanks are also due to Mr. Charles Schlacks, Jr., editor-in-chief of *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines*, for making available this journal's auspices in sponsoring our volume's publication, and to Professor Walter K. Hanak, the editor, for supervising editorial operations. We think it is appropriate that our project should appear as a volume of this, the first journal of international stature to be founded in the United States as a forum explicitly for the Byzantine field. Its genesis is perhaps a symbolic analogue to the pioneering career of Peter Charanis himself, and it is certainly evidence of the maturing of Byzantine studies in America to which he has contributed so much. Finally, it should be noted that Professor Charanis himself was of kind assistance in supplying data for the bibliography of his publications, as well as the vivacious photograph, taken in March, 1976, which serves as our frontispiece.

John W. Barker   *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Byzantine ETUDES
STUDIES Byzantines

SPECIAL ISSUE   *EDITION SPECIALE*

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EDITED BY JOHN W. BARKER

INTRODUCTION

JOHN W. BARKER (Madison, Wis., U.S.A.)

Peter Charanis: A Portrait

> ... You write, as you must, books and learned
> articles, but you believe also, I think, that
> your first obligation is towards your students,
> determined to train not only your successors,
> but to form educated men and women so that the
> quality of life which characterizes a truly
> civilized people and among whose essential
> ingredients we must include respect for human
> dignity, freedom of thought and expression, and
> the cultivation of independent judgment, may
> be enhanced in your land.
>
> —Peter Charanis: Address
> upon receiving an Honorary
> Doctorate, University of
> Thessaloniki, Greece,
> 14 March 1972

The disciplined, meticulous scholarly style of Peter Charanis's publications may not fully reveal, to those who know him only through them, the vibrant human personality that stands behind it. The quotation above should convey some of the motivating convictions which are part of that personality. And, above all, those who know him personally are aware that perhaps his most basic trait, coloring all aspects of his personality, is passion—the passion with which he holds his beliefs and pursues his objectives. It is perhaps this marriage in him of the heart with intellect that best represents his individuality.

Those familiar with his career can easily discern three particular loves that have provided the inspiration for his professional life. One is scholarship, above all in the study of Byzantine history, on which he has lavished some four decades of energy and productivity. A second love has been Rutgers University, where he was himself an undergraduate student and to which he has dedicated almost exclusively his long teaching career. The third love is his ardor in promoting the field of Byzantine studies on the American educational

scene. Not merely as a fourth love, but as the spirit that binds all the other three together, there is his transcendant commitment to teaching—teaching at all levels, teaching as an exuberant giving of himself, teaching as an exercise of intellect and spirit alike, teaching as an expression of delight in his subject and of zest in communicating it to others. It is that vivacity and intensity, as much as any systematic biographical documentation, that the following sketch aims to convey.

Not inappropriately to his future calling, Peter Charanis was born a citizen of an empire, and of that Ottoman Empire which was, in many ways, a successor-state to the Byzantine Empire which was to evoke his life's work. He is also fond of pointing out to students that he was also born into a true barter economy, giving him valuable perspectives as a later scholar of medieval society. He was, moreover, born into a society that did not always keep meticulous records, so that the exact date of his birth is not definitely settled: he himself puts it at 15 August 1908.

Originally named Panayotis, he was the third child of a relatively poor family on the island of Lemnos. The island became a part of the modern nation of Greece only in 1912, and he treasures a pricelessly revealing recollection of the occasion when the Greek forces arrived to assume possession of the place: "When the island was occupied by the Greek navy, Greek soldiers were sent to the several villages and they stationed themselves in the public square of those villages. Some of us small children ran to the square to see what these Greek soldiers, what these Hellenes, looked like. 'What are you looking at?' one of the soldiers asked. 'At Hellenes,' we replied. 'Are you not Hellenes yourselves?' the soldier retorted. 'No, we are Romaioi,' was our answer." (On the other hand, the mature Peter Charanis has often joked that, since Lemnos was an ancient Athenian holding, and was not overrun by all those invasions that afflicted the mainland, he as an islander is a true "son of Pericles.")

His father, George, had died in 1910. Two years later, the oldest son in the family emigrated to the United States, and three years after this the next son followed. Young Panayotis/Peter had his turn in 1920, arriving on 30 October. He came under the auspices of his uncles, John and Nicholas Stroumtsos, who were establishing the family's lifelong identification with New Brunswick, New Jersey. With their support, he began his American schooling. On Lemnos he had gone as far as about the sixth grade, but, now needing to acquire command of English, he entered second grade, and at its end was placed in an "opportunity class" designed for academically backward children. Within half a year, he was shifted to the seventh grade, proceeding in due course to junior and full high school. He graduated from New Brunswick High School in 1927, and during the next four years he went on to do his undergraduate study at Rutgers University, in New Brunswick.

His relatives continued to aid him as best they could, and he earned what he was able at menial jobs. He established a reputation with his teachers as a

superior student. Commented one on him: "He is brilliant but dependable, earnest, industrious, and possessed of a very attractive personality." Another was impressed by his effectiveness in expressing himself by this time: "he seemed never at a loss for words and ideas. His vocabulary is excellent, he speaks easily, and holds the attention of his auditors." He also had won the respect of fellow students, and in March, 1931, as member of a Rutgers student delegation to a Model Assembly of the League of Nations held at Princeton, he was unanimously elected chairman. (The Rutgers delegation was assigned the representation of Poland, and the young Charanis undertook the task of presenting the Polish economic situation.) He graduated from Rutgers in the spring of 1931, elected to Phi Beta Kappa.

By this time, a sense of direction had emerged. An early idea about becoming a lawyer had been discarded, and by the time he was in college he had decided upon a career in university teaching. The choice of subject had fluctuated. He considered mathematics for a while, and an interest in that field long remained with him. But history had come to attract him strongly. In high school, for example, he had won the senior history prize. (He was also runner-up for the English prize, the competing scores having to be carried to the fifth decimal place to be decisive, he notes with glee.) Above all, his ethnic consciousness had been pointing him in what was to become his life's ultimate direction. He recalls that, as soon as he was literate in English, he began to read about Greek history and lore, out of simple curiosity to learn more of his national background. As a student at Rutgers, he began to discover Byzantium. He encountered the controversial theories of the nineteenth-century historian Fallmerayer regarding the supposed submergence of the ancient Hellenic stock in Slavic inundations during the Middle Ages. Bothered by this, he pursued his reading in secondary sources, which he found unsatisfactory. He was disturbed, too, by the neglect with which his fellow-Greeks treated their Byzantine heritage, and at the same time, by the scorn in which modern historiography generally held Byzantine history and civilization. "All of this intrigued me and I resolved in order to discover the truth for myself to make the study of Byzantine History my speciality," he has written. Also foreshadowed in this resolution were two qualities that would be characteristic of him: a freedom from narrow chauvinism, and a passion to "find out for myself" by tracing a problem tirelessly back to its basic sources.

The commitment to graduate study in Byzantine history involved two major problems. The first was finding an appropriate place to pursue such study. Staying on at Rutgers was possible but of little value in the absence there of the specialized work he needed. Such work was offered in very few American universities at the time, and, even in those few, by scholars whose interests did not fit his own. Blake at Harvard and Morey at Princeton were considered and ruled out. Virtually the only Byzantine historian active on the American scene then was Professor Alexander A. Vasiliev, at the University of Wiscon-

sin. Having become acquainted with Vasiliev's publication, Charanis wrote to him and applied to study at Wisconsin. Then there was the other problem: finances. At first, Charanis had hoped for an assistantship, but, when this did not materialize, he decided to take the plunge without it. Despite the hardships of the Great Depression, his uncles and also his brothers helped him, and further income from jobs in Greek restaurants carried him through his first year of graduate study. In his second year, 1932-33, he was granted an assistantship, and in 1933-34 he was awarded a University Fellowship; assistantships were renewed during 1934-36.

The M.A. degree was completed in his first year, with a dissertation written on "The Byzantine Foreign Trade during the Sixth Century A.D." After taking examinations in a wide span of fields (European History from Ancient through Modern, plus some American History), the topic for the doctoral dissertation was chosen with great concern for practicality: a reasonably "Byzantine" subject, but one also close enough to the time-span of "Antiquity" so as to indicate qualifications for teaching Ancient History. The result was the Ph.D. thesis completed in the spring of 1935: "The Religious Policy of Anastasius I, Emperor of the Later Roman Empire, 491-518." If not the only Ph.D. that Vasiliev produced, he was the only Byzantinist. (Reliable sources describe the Greek dance that Peter Charanis did on Madison's State Street, as an expression of joy over passing his exams.)

He had made, by this time, a very strong impression on his professors. One Wisconsin faculty member describes him thus: "He is a superior man as to appearance, character, and personality. All of our other graduate students like and respect him, counting him as one of the more popular of the group socially." Another writes of his "quick intelligence, his wide interests, his versatility as a scholar, and of his cheerful disposition and attractive personality . . . . He has succeeded in making the work interesting to his students." On this basis, he was kept on past his doctorate for an additional year of an assistantship, during 1935-36, while the process of hunting for a position went on. Jobs were few, and in his case he faced additional obstacles of prejudice as to his origins. Assurances that he had overcome his immigrant background, had become thoroughly fluent in English, and had become altogether "Americanized" had to be made continually. One northwestern state university rejected him out of hand, indicating that their position was not open to anyone of Jewish or Greek background. But an important opportunity of another kind materialized in 1936, when he was awarded a Fellowship by the Belgian American Educational Foundation (known then as the Commission for the Relief of Belgium, or C.R.B., Foundation) that enabled him to study for two years in Brussels. Thanks to this grant, it was possible for him to work with Professor Henri Grégoire, to travel in Europe, and, in the bargain, to meet the Belgian student who became his wife, Madeleine Schiltz.

Peter Charanis has never disguised or denied the importance that certain

people had for him during his early years, and the debts he has owed them. One of the most warmly remembered people is the teacher he had in his "opportunity class" as a newly-arrived immigrant boy, a certain Mrs. Herbert. She was so pleased with his progress in this that, when he was transferred up to the seventh grade, she gave him the gift of a white Manhattan shirt as reward, a present he has never forgotten. She remained in contact with him for the rest of her life, coming to think of him as a son. He recalls that she felt grave misgivings when he prepared to study with Vasiliev: contact with a Russian exile just might, she feared, turn him into a Bolshevik.

The individual who was perhaps most significant in his formative years, and who is still most reverently remembered, is his mother, Chrysanthe. To many of his relatives he pays tribute for their appreciation of the learning he pursued and for the backing they were willing to give him in the midst of hard times. But it is clearly to his mother that he traces his earliest motivations. Herself illiterate much of her life, she was the eldest child of her parents and had to take care of the other children; they were the ones sent to school, though her brothers never finished high school education themselves. Yet, she was to pass on to her son an indelible impression of a desire and a respect for education. When Charanis was sent to America as a boy, the reasoning was practical and the aim was to give him economic opportunity. Yet, even though education was not explicitly indicated, he is convinced that her sending him forth represented an "expression of her will that one of her children become educated," and that this was an unconscious motivation for sending him on his way. She herself remained on Lemnos, not coming to America in her turn until 1934. She died the following year, just barely able to witness her son's academic triumph. When, in 1939, Charanis published his doctoral dissertation, on Anastasius I's religious policy, as his first book, he acknowledged the support of his uncles and he dedicated the book "to the memory of my mother, who became fatally ill on the very day on which I was granted the degree of doctor of philosophy by the University of Wisconsin." Meanwhile, Charanis himself did not return to visit Lemnos until two years after his mother's death, during his period of study with Grégoire, in 1937, seventeen years after he had left it.

The years of doctoral and post-doctoral study brought Charanis into contact with two other individuals who were deeply influential upon him: his respective mentors, A.A. Vasiliev at Wisconsin, and Henri Grégoire in Brussels. Their influences on him were as different as their individual personalities. As his student, Charanis found Vasiliev difficult to know. Eventually his assistant and officemate, he had little social or personal contact. Supervision was limited, and, though the topic for the dissertation was chosen jointly and occasional references or suggestions were offered, there were never any conferences or efforts at giving direction along the way. Vailiev wanted to see only the finished work, leaving the student with some apprehensions about having to

put it in a "final" typescript. But he recalls Vasiliev's indication of acceptance and approval when the thesis was finished and had been handed in: finding Charanis in their joint office, Vasiliev gave him a pat on the back, exclaimed "Brilliant!" and that was that. Yet, Vasiliev did support the publication of the dissertation shortly thereafter by the University of Wisconsin Press, and also advanced him for the Belgian fellowship, clearly taking some pride in him as a finished product. Curiously, it was to be Grégoire who provided him with a closer link to Vasiliev. Indeed, he recalls that he got to know each of them better through the other. Later, after Vasiliev's retirement, teacher and former student found themselves together again at Dumbarton Oaks in overlapping residence there during 1944-46, and a more intimate familiarity was established.

From Vasiliev, Charanis learned the importance of the disciplined use of sources, an approach clearly stamped upon his own scholarship. In Brussels, however, Charanis found that there were other perspectives to consider, as offered in the seminars he took there with Paul Wittek (in early Turkish history) and with Grégoire (in Byzantine history), above all the latter. The mercurial Grégoire was, of course, a sharp contrast to Vasiliev: a "seminar man" who had no patience with lectures, Grégoire radiated vitality, imagination, originality. From Grégoire, Charanis recalls learning that it is not necessary to fill pages with long footnotes: if it had been said before, references could be given but not every one possible, even if accusations of "imcompleteness" be risked. What mattered much at the moment, too, was that, unlike Vasiliev, Grégoire accepted the young scholar immediately on a more intimate and equal basis. (Indeed, the spirit of camaraderie that seems to have developed early, was perhaps formed in a journey that Grégoire undertook with Charanis and a few other young disciples, almost as soon as the fellowship period had begun, to Italy. To have heard Peter Charanis's account of this journey, expecially the saga of the return trip without funds, is to have heard one of the great folk-epics of the academic profession.) In that combination of inspiration and intimacy, Charanis came to think of Grégoire, even more than Vasiliev, as his "master," a term he has ever since readily used for the former as he has not for the latter.

The years in the Brussels seminars also produced the first publication in what was to become a long and still-continuing procession. The dissertation, retitled *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire: The Religious Policy of Anastasius the First,* was the earliest of his completed works to appear in print, but it was issued, under the aegis of the University of Wisconsin Press, only in 1939. Meanwhile, beginning in 1937 and continuing into the mid-1940s, Charanis published a series of articles, most of them in Grégoire's *Byzantion* or *Annuaire,* which reflected work and interests developed in the seminars. Four of these articles were on the question of Byzantine coronation, and five of them were on Palaeologan history and sources. All of them are

still cited of necessity by any scholars working today on these subjects: from the outset, Charanis established a standard of enduring quality and substance in his scholarly work.

Job-hunting continued during the Brussels years, and led to his engagement in 1938 by the History Department of his *alma mater*, Rutgers University, to teach Ancient and Medieval History in general. Serving first as instructor, he was made Assistant Professor in 1941. During the strained war years, he taught mathematics to classes of soldiers to fill out his duties. (As late as this, he was still including the capacity to teach college mathematics, up to differential calculus, in his credentials.) During 1944-46, he was fortunate to hold a research post at Dumbarton Oaks; it was there his second child was born. Resuming his functions at Rutgers, he was promted to Associate Professor in 1946. Advancement to Full Professor followed in 1949. Meanwhile, 1938, the year of his arrival at Rutgers, was also the year of Vasiliev's retirement from Wisconsin, whose History Department did not directly appoint another Byzantinist in his place but allowed the field of Byzantine history to lie fallow. Not without ambitions of transferring the palladium, as it were, Charanis began what was to become the critical aspect of his life's work. "Rutgers was thus given an opportunity to replace Wisconsin as one of the two universities where Byzantine History was taught," he has written: "It did not lose this opportunity." With the encouragement of some of his own former teachers (including his past instructor of Greek, Clayton Hall of the Classics Department), Charanis received approval in 1939 for a course in Byzantine History. It was a field many colleagues had never heard of and had doubts about, but Charanis proceeded slowly, alternating it with his other courses in Greek, Roman, and Medieval history. Gradually, as the department experienced the growth that marked academic life in the post-World-War-II period, it became possible to bring other professors into the staff to relieve him of some of these responsibilities—so that, he proudly notes, what had originally been his single position eventually developed into no less than five positions in all. In time, his undergraduate course in Byzantine History became an annual offering, highly popular with the students. He was also able to add a seminar for the graduate students who began to be drawn to him from the 1950s on.

Through this period, too, his own scholarship blossomed. During the 1940s and 1950s, articles poured from him, on a wide range of subjects. Two themes in particular began to emerge among them, however. One of these was the social and institutional life of Byzantium, on which one of the finest of his contributions was his extended essay in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* on "The Monastic Properties and the State," still the basic study on this topic. The other theme was that of the diverse ethnic elements which made up the Byzantine population. His earlier focus was on questions of Slavic penetration into Byzantine lands, but he expanded to consider other

ethnic elements as well, notably the Armenians. Among the acknowledgements of his commanding status in the still-new field of Byzantine studies in America was the invitation to contribute a chapter on eleventh-century Byzantium, masterfully done, to the first volume of the co-operative *History of the Crusades.*

While these years of activity were establishing securely his international as well as national reputation, Peter Charanis deepened his commitment to the Rutgers University he had loved (and was to go on loving) so long. He finds it possible to say honestly that he has "never tried to leave Rutgers." To be sure, there was a residual tug from the other university with which he had long-standing ties, Wisconsin. He had maintained warm friendships with former professors and fellow-students there, and in 1950-51 he was invited back as a Visiting Professor himself. This, he concedes, was the only place for which he might have left Rutgers. A position there could have involved greater financial rewards, higher prestige, and considerable influence, by some standards of measure. Had such a position been offered to him, he might well have stayed there, he has speculated. But no such offer was made. Years later, in 1961, he returned to Madison once more, to give a university lecture, and he remembers wondering at that time why he would have wanted to stay at Wisconsin after all, so definitely settled and happy had he become by then at Rutgers.

His rise through the ranks at Rutgers was, he notes proudly, "non-competitive," on the basis of his merits. Rutgers recognized him through promotions and advancement to the highest possible academic salary, a status capped in 1963 with his designation as Voorhees Distinguished Professor. During the years 1964-66, he was chairman of the Rutgers History Department. He became one of the Rutgers faculty's elder statesmen. Having brought Rutgers fame with his own work, he served it as a loving gadfly, always outspoken on issues of principle in campus life. In return, he never felt, he claims, any absence or lack of backing from Rutgers, and he speaks with gratitude of the Rutgers Library's co-operation in helping him build up resources there in his field—resources which, in combination with those of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary (Dutch Reformed) and of his own personal library, made it possible for him to establish Byzantine studies so viably on the campus. Moreover, through a special relationship cultivated with the Rutgers University Press, he succeeded in developing the impressive "Rutgers Byzantine Series," one of the few lines of publications consecrated to the field by an American publishing house. It began with distinguished English-language editions of major European classics in the field, and was extended to include original studies, some of them produced by his own students.

In sum, through his dedication, he made Rutgers one of the important centers for Byzantine studies, not only in the U.S.A., but in the entire world.

It is with pride and gratitude that he had seen Rutgers make its own com-
mitment to what he has done, by appointing a worthy and tenure-rank
successor, the distinguished Angeliki Laiou, to carry on his tradition.

The satisfaction of seeing his work at Rutgers achieve consolidation has
been matched by the pleasure of having his scholarly output recognized as
a major component of the literature in his field. His outpouring of articles
and essays continued steadily through the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s; with,
happily, no signs of abatement yet in evidence. His concentration on ethnic
and social themes became ever more clear, though with a wide range of re-
lated areas also touched upon. He has taken particular pride in the assemblage
of many of his (by-now classic) studies into two recent volumes in the Vari-
orum Reprints series. Entitled, respectively, *Studies on the Demography of
the Byzantine Empire* (1972: twenty-two items), and *Social, Economic,
and Political Life in the Byzantine Empire* (1973: nineteen items), these
collections bring together perhaps the cream of his shorter writings produced
to that time. Further satisfaction has come from deepened contacts with the
academic world and life of Greece, notably at the University of Thessaloniki,
which arranged the reprinting of his book on Anastasius I in 1973, having in
the previous year awarded him an honorary doctorate. (It was on one of his
now-regular visits to Thessaloniki, in 1969, that he and his wife made the
sentimental gesture of being remarried in the rites of the Greek Orthodox
Church. And, at this writing, the elder of their two children, their daughter
Alexandra, is a teacher at Anatolia College in Thessaloniki.)

However proud he is of this recognition, Peter Charanis continues to main-
tain an attitude of sober realism towards his scholarly attainments. He has
always regarded his publications as merely reflections or results of his life-
long quest to "find out for myself," or to "see below the surface," rather
than as self-serving products of some determination to "make a contribution"
or to rush his name into print. The fact that they *have* made contributions
to his field, contributions often of basic importance, has resulted from their
inherent quality and integrity, rather than from any self-conscious display.

Given Peter Charanis's worldwide renown and repute as a scholar, it is
important to note that, among the many awards he cherishes, there are not
one but two kinds that matter to him. He points out with pride to visitors
in his study at home a complementary and symbolic pairing of citations,
awarded to him almost simultaneously: the Rutgers Research Council Ad-
visory Board Citation for Distinguished Scholarship (May 1962), and the
Christian R. and Mary Lindback Foundation Award for Distinguished Teach-
ing at Rutgers (June 1962). For him, the career of scholarship without the
matching career of teaching would have been unthinkable.

And that teaching could never be merely "esoteric" instruction on an
advanced level, his work isolated into an "exotic" specialized study. If he
has any apprehensions about the development of Byzantine studies as an

academic field, it is concern over what he fears may be a weak development of the tradition of undergraduate teaching in the field. For him, graduate teaching always had to be balanced by the teaching of undergraduates, both in his specialty and in the broader fields to which it relates. Moreover, outgoing and ebullient by temperament, with some flair for showmanship, Charanis has always relished performing in the classroom. Never the pedant, he prefers spontaneity to rigid planning and the excessive constraints of elaborate notes. His lectures, at whatever level, have always been lively, wide-ranging, dynamic, and even unpredictable; yet, always anchored not only in solid knowledge but also in dedication to scholarly principles and intellectual honesty—ideals which he never loses an opportunity to promote. Predictably, Charanis became and remained a popular teacher at Rutgers, a great favorite with all levels of undergraduates, who regularly filled his classes to capacity.

As he sought to make a legitimate place in the undergraduate teaching of history for Byzantine studies, so, too, he has recognized as an important dimension of his work the training of younger Byzantinists. To his seminars came a steady procession of graduate students for whom he has shown support and concern in unusual measure. In whatever form his instruction took, he sought to instill standards of critical judgment, scholarly responsibility, and a dedication to basic competence with source material. Unlike many professors who like to mould their students in their own images and turn out carbon copies of themselves, as to the kinds or areas of scholarly work pursued, he has never sought to produce a series of little Charanises. He was willing to help each student find out what each wanted and was able to be, and he then did what he could to speed each in becoming just that, helping as best he could with advice, criticism, and backing.

The work of Peter Charanis as trainer of graduate students assumed importance in a broad context. He was, in this role, perhaps the crucial man at the right time. His efforts coincided with that period, following World War II, when the field of Byzantine studies began to pass definitely out of the hands of the European-born and European-trained scholars who had blazed what few initial trails were made for it in the United States. A new generation of American-born and American-trained Byzantinists was to come on the scene. Peter Charanis has played a truly central role in making Byzantine studies an indigenous and flourishing part of the American academic world. He was determined, as we have seen, to seize the initiative for Rutgers, and, while other centers revived or were created across the country during these years, he succeeded in his goal. Out of his seminar and training have come perhaps more graduate students, more disciples to maintain and to widen the field, than any other single Byzantinist in the Western hemisphere has produced. His direct students were not the only beneficiaries of his guidance, for many other young scholars, beyond his immediate circle, received en-

couragement and aid from him. In all of this, he has made an unparalleled contribution both to the stature of Rutgers University and to the development of Byzantine studies in America.

It is this last legacy in particular that the present volume is meant to commemorate; as it were, the third of those loves of his identified at the outset of this sketch. The fruits of his first love, for scholarhsip, require no further testimonials here. His publications, enumerated in the pages which follow, speak for themselves. His love for, and service to, Rutgers University are now a part of that institution's living reality. But his commitment to the furthering of Byzantine studies and his dedication to teaching deserve to be remembered with equal respect in the totality of his achievement. The corporate gesture on the part of his students that this book represents is therefore intended as a clear reminder that productive teaching and the training of continuers in his field was and is an integral part of the life's work of Peter Charanis. This reminder can, of course, add nothing to the monument of his own scholarly work. Its worthiness as a tribute, in illuminating the horizons with the brilliance of its scholarly contents or in bending the shelves with the weight of its erudition, must be left to others to judge. But it should, if nothing else, display at least two features which are characteristic of his graduate teaching achievement, the more notable for being so unusual in our field. One is simply the number of contributors, as testimony of the sheer quantity of the Charanis output of students. The other is the diversity of work done by these many students of one teacher, none of whom were compelled to imitate him in his interests or approach.

As a counterpart, then, to the list of his own scholarly publications to be found below, it seems fitting to end this sketch of Peter Charanis and his career with a corresponding list of his other products, his graduate students, past and present. In this roster, we enjoy the honor of association with his name and prestige. We can only hope that, in our own turn, we bear witness to the perpetuation of his spirit and to some fulfillment of his aims.

University of Wisconsin-Madison

THE GRADUATE STUDENTS OF PETER CHARANIS

This list comprehends all those who have followed a program of study with Peter Charanis at Rutgers University, and who either have completed or are working on dissertations under his direction. Dissertation titles are given, with their dates of submission, in chronological order for those completed.

GUSTAVE ALEF–"A History of the Schism between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople during the Middle Ages" (M.A. thesis, 1950) [Ph.D. from Princeton University in Russian History].

JOHN W. BARKER–"Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship" (Ph.D. thesis, 1961; revised publication in the Rutgers Byzantine Series, 1969).

DEAN A. MILLER–"Studies in Byzantine Diplomacy: Sixth to Tenth Centuries" (Ph.D. thesis, 1963).

DEMTRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS–"Philanthropia and Philanthropic Institutions in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 330-1205" (Ph.D. thesis, 1965; revised publication in the Rutgers Byzantine Series, 1968).

NORMAN TOBIAS–"Basil I (867-886), the Founder of the Macedonian Dynasty: A Study of the Political and Military History of the Byzantine Empire in the Ninth Century" (Ph.D. thesis, 1969).

MARTIN G. ARBAGI–"Byzantium in Latin Eyes: 800-1204" (Ph.D. thesis, 1969-70).

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ARTICLES

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Diaspora Greeks in Moscow

Byzantine Greeks began to arrive in Moscow after the fall of the empire, though their number never exceeded a handful. A majority of the refugees opted for Italian residence, with a considerable number congregating in Venice, which had historic ties with the Mediterranean East.[1] The revived interest in classical learning in Italy had acted as a magnet for refugee Greek scholars.[2] How many chose to venture north of the Alps is still largely unknown, for such investigations have not been of much interest to historians.[3]

That scholars, merchants, and seamen would prefer Italy was natural. The attractions of the intellectual and physical climates and the Italian proximity to the sea are too obvious to warrant further discussion here. But not all who emigrated belonged to these essentially minority occupations.

Long ago Peter Charanis reminded us that war and religion were the primary characteristics of Byzantine history. If the peasants were the most numerous of Byzantine subjects, they were the least capable of flight. Next in terms of number were members of the clergy and the warrior aristocracy. Clerics, too, had little choice but to remain with their flocks. The long-standing animus against Catholicism and the West had but recently been exacerbated by the imperial *Realpolitik* that led to the Florentine Union and the sharp reaction in the East. Even the senior clerics, unless they were willing to accept the Roman primacy, would hardly seek refuge in the lands of the spiritual enemy. But what of the warrior-aristocrats, particularly from the areas most recently conquered by the Ottoman Turks? They had lost their lands and livelihood. Surely some fled west and sought positions commensurate with their profession as fighting men. How many sold their swords elsewhere is not well known, in part because scholars in our time have centered their attention upon the more visible cultural and intellectual contributions of the emigrés. If

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1. See D.J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West. Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance. Studies in Ecclesiastical and Cultural History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), pp. 112 ff. and particularly pp. 136-37.
    2. A.E. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation. The Byzantine Period, 1204-1461*, Rutgers Byzantine Series (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970), ch. 16.
    3. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

the testimony of Michael Maroullos Tarchaniotes (1453/54-1500) was not clothed in hyperbole, the Greek exiles were numerous and their prospects bleak. In a poem dedicated to King Charles VIII of France, Tarchaniotes asked ". . . will you be moved by the piteous conditions of so many exiles who throw themselves at your feet. . . ?"[4]

If opportunities did not exist for the many who had sought refuge in the West, few availed themselves of the possibility of service at the Muscovite court. At first glance, this reluctance appears surprising. Muscovy by the end of the sixth decade of the fifteenth century had become a significant power in Eastern Europe. By the end of that century it had annexed virtually all of the neighboring principalities and was encroaching westward in Lithuanian-held areas. Muscovy, moreover, had remained steadfastly Orthodox, even refusing to follow its Byzantine religious suzerains into union with Rome. With the fall of Byzantium, the one-time northern eparchy of the Constantinopolitan church had become the only major Orthodox territory free of non-Christian foreign domination. One might suspect that the attraction of Muscovy for the East Roman coreligionists would have been considerable.

Since so few of the exiles came, the disadvantages obviously outweighed the attractions. Despite the religious affinities, Muscovy was an unknown land to most of the emigrés. For those who learned of its existence and features, the reaction was still negative. The land was distant, the climate intemperate, and the opportunities limited. The low level of Russian culture was hardly the magnet to attract emigré scholars. The grand princes of Moscow did not seek to recruit Greeks in their service. Instructions given envoys sent to Italy generally dealt with skilled architects, artisans, and specialists in the creation of material goods. Nor did the few Greeks who came to the Russian northeast encourage their countrymen in Italy to seek their fortunes in Moscow. The Greeks in Muscovite service may have tried to dissuade others from following them. Not a single scholar of the Greek emigration sought to resettle in that land of religious kinship.

Moscovy was more geared to elemental survival than to the luxury of civilization. Wealth there could hardly compare to the affluence found in the West. Novgorod and Pskov, which had already seen their eras of trading prosperity, were the only cities born of trade; all the other towns were princely seats, military strong points, or administrative centers. By Italian, French or English standards, only the grand prince and a few of his favorites could be considered rich. In a land of marginal agricultural productivity and devoid of natural resources, where economic activity was limited, if not rudimentary, manpower was the only surplus commodity. Moscovite royal power was founded upon the exploitation of human resources and the grand prince used his subjects

4. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

hard. Increasingly penurious and forced into military service, the Russian no-
bility received no regular compensation but could be summoned at the plea-
sure of the ruler.[5] Senior court positions, that is, appointment to the royal
council, required an average of twenty-five years of service for the rank of
boiar. Generally, these offices were reserved to scions of competing aristocra-
tic families—for those either long in the employ of the Muscovite princes or
those who descended from the highest princely elite.[6] In all of the fifteenth
century only one Greek family, the Khovrins, placed several members in the
royal council; in the sixteenth a Tarchaniotes (Vasilii Iur'evich Trakhaniotov)
became a boiar. Despite these exceptions, the system barred Greeks from en-
try into the inner councils of the prince.

The Khovrins were not refugees from fallen Byzantium. Early in the fif-
teenth century a Stepan Vasilievich and his son, Grigorii Khovra, came to Mos-
cow from the Crimea. According to Muscovite genealogical registers of the se-
venteenth century, Stepan had been a prince with properties in Surazh, Man-
gup, and Caffa.[7] In all probability he had been nothing more than a merchant.
Grigorii Khovra[8] followed in his father's profession and prospered in Moscow.
Khovra's son, Vladimir, continued in the family business and his support of
Vasilii II in the dynastic crisis earned him appointment to the office of state
treasurer and to a seat on the royal council.[9] Toward the end of the century,
Vladimir's fourth son, Dmitrii, succeeded his father in both offices. The Khov-
rins had become fully Russianized, intermarrying with the most influential
service families and they contined to contribute members to the higher court
positions well into the seventeenth century.[10]

Some Byzantinists believe that the Khovrins descended from the Byzantine
princely family of Gabras, more specifically the branch that fashioned a prince-
dom in the Crimea.[11] But Veselovskii and Tikhomirov have rightly questioned

5. G. Alef, "Muscovite Military Reforms in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century,"
Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte, 28 (1973), 73-108, particularly pp. 81 ff.

6. G. Alef, "Reflections on the Boyar Duma in the Reign of Ivan III," *Slavonic and
East European Review*, 45 (1967), 76-123, particularly pp. 91 ff.

7. *Родословная книга князей и дворянъ российскихъ выезжихъ,* 2 vols. (Mos-
cow: Въ Унив. тип. у Н. Новикова, 1787), I, 270, 304, and 396; and *Временник
Императорскаго Московскаго общества истории и древностей российских,* 8 vols.
in 25 books (Moscow, 1849-57), X, *Материалы,* 89.

8. *Khovra* was a nickname meaning clumsy, unintelligent, old woman, or daydreamer:
S. B. Veselovskii, *Исследования по истории класса служилых землевладельцев* (Mos-
cow: "Наука," 1969), p. 443, n. 2.

9. *Полное собрание русских летописей* [hereafter *ПСРЛ*] (St. Petersburg, 1846-),
XXIII, col. 154; 1450: "Merchant and boiar of the grand prince"; see also Veselovskii,
Исследования, pp. 444-45.

10. *Ibid.,* pp. 442-49.

11. See A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea,* Monographs of the Mediaeval Aca-
demy of America, no. 11 (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936), pp.
153, 158, and 198-99; and A. A. M. Breyer, "A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades, c.
979-c. 1653." *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* 12, No. 2 (1970), 164-87.

that allegation.[12] The untitled aristocracy assumed fictional family origins in sixteenth-century Muscovy as a means of combating the princely competition for offices. Some, for example, claimed Prussian or imperial Tatar ancestry, while others manufactured convenient princely antecedents.[13]

The initial Khovrin good fortune may be attributed less to allegations of origin than to their coveted expertise. They possessed skills indispensable to an officer of the treasury and a knowledge of record-keeping not known to members of the Russian aristocracy. These they passed down to succeeding generations. The Khovrins were not "mainland" Greeks, but their history in Muscovy suggests that special knowledge was required for initial success in that new land. A similar pattern will be noted for some of the Greeks who came later and made the grade.

The first of the diaspora Greeks to arrive after the conquest was the aristocratic Nicholas Ralli. When he arrived and from what land are not recorded, but he undoubtedly spent time in Italy before he went to Moscow. For in 1461 Grand Prince Vasilii II sent him as envoy to Milan. The purpose of the mission is not to be found either in the Milanese or Muscovite archives, though I suspect that Vasilii II desired to obtain recognition as the new eastern emperor. Francesco Sforza, on the other hand, became quite excited when he learned of the existence of a powerful Moscovy on the East European periphery. He immediately sought to involve the grand prince of Muscovy in a coalition against the Turks threatening Europe.[14]

If Nicholas Ralli was the first of the emigrés to obtain a position in Moscow, other Greeks were not particularly sought out. Grand Prince Ivan III (1462-1505) showed an initial preference for skilled Italians. A fellow named Jacobo became master of the mint by the early 1460s.[15] His compatriot, Gian Battista della Volpe, a native of Vicenza, succeeded him. Gian Battista became Ivan's principal intermediary in the negotiations for the hand of Zoë Palaeologus, then a papal ward. While della Volpe employed some of his Italian relatives for the ongoing interchanges, Cardinal Bessarion sent as his own envoy in 1469 a Georgios the Greek ("Iurii Grek") to Ivan III.[16] This was cer-

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12. Veselovskii, *Исследования*, p. 443; M. N. Tikhomirov, *Средневековая Москва в XIV-XV веках* (Moscow: Издательстео Москвского Университета, 1957, p. 155. See also W. Knackstedt, *Moskau. Studien zur Geschichte einer mittelalterlichen Stadt*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa, Heft 8 (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1975), p. 112.

13. G. Alef, "The Crisis of the Muscovite Aristocracy: A Factor in the Growth of Monarchical Power," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*, 15 (1970), 23-24. See also *Родословная книга*, II, 281 ff.

14. G. Barbieri, *Milano e Mosca nella politica del Rinascimento, storia delle relazioni diplomatiche tra la Russia e il Duccato di Milano nell'epoca sforzesca* (Bari: Adriatica editrice, 1957), pp. 19-21 and 79-81.

15. See the letter of 1463 sent by Francesco Sforza to Jacobo, "Monetario monet e auri et argenti," in *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

16. *ПСРЛ*, XII. 120: and XXVI, 225.

tainly Georgios Tarchaniotes, chamberlain to Zoë's late father.[17]

Gian Battista della Volpe reached the pinnacle of his career as an ambassadorial broker in arranging Ivan III's betrothal to Zoë, but in the process he paved the way for his ruination. While representing Ivan openly, he also served the Venetian Signory secretly, devising a scheme to put the Venetian government in touch with the khan of the steppe Horde, then Ivan's sworn enemy. The purpose was to fashion an anti-Turkish alliance, utilizing the Tatars as the eastern arm of a military nutcracker. His involvement with Venice came to light in 1472 when members of Zoë's suite, then in Moscow, divulged his activities.[18] An angered Ivan III deprived him of his life's savings and freedom.[19] Never again would he take Italians into his confidence and employ them as envoys to Italy.

The development of contacts with the Italian states had begun immediately after the fall of Byzantium and the utilization of Italians had been a natural concomitant. After 1472 Ivan still required trusted envoys to Italy who knew the language. Greeks who had lived there previously were now preferable. A number had come with Zoë (now called Sofia), who decided to stay in Moscow.[20] Of these, only a "Dmitrii Grek" is mentioned as the representative of Sofia's brothers.[21] This Dmitrii was probably a Ralli. Georgios Tarchaniotes also came at this time and remained in Moscow. Both remained as honorific "boiars" of the new grand princess, for in 1500 they and a "Iurii the Younger" attended Sofia when her daughter Feodosiia wed Prince Vasilii Kholmskii.[22] Manuel Angelos was the fourth Greek who took part in that marriage ceremony.[23] The Lascarids arrived in 1495.[24] According to a seventeenth century genealogy of the family, Theodore Lascaris and his son Dmitrii came directly from Greece,[25] but an earlier version indicated that they had served the king of Hungary before coming to Moscow.[26]

These Greeks were co-religionists, men in search of a country and anxious

17. Barbieru, *Milano e Mosca*, pp. 46-47.

18. For the details of the Italian negotiations preliminary to the marriage and della Volpe's involvement with Venetian affairs, see P. Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège. Etudes diplomatiques*, 5 vols. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et c^e, 1896-1912), I, 130-63.

19. *ПСРЛ*, XII, 151-52; Pierling, *La Russie*, I, 176 ff.

20. *ПСРЛ*, XII, 151; and *Барбаро и Контарини о России. К истории Итало-Русских связей в XV в.*, ed. E. Ch. Skrzhinskaia (Leningrad: Издательство "Наука" Ленинградское отделение, 1971), p. 203. Contarini noted that "etiam molti greci da Constantinopoli, che arano andati de li con despina...."

21. *ПСРЛ*, VIII, 176.

22. *Разрядная книга, 1475,1598 гг.*, ed. V. I. Buganov (Moscow: Издательство "Наука", 1966), p. 16.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *ПСРЛ*, VI, 40; and XV, 502.

25. *Временник*, X, 176-78.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

for honorable employment. They might be less susceptible to collaboration
with Westerners. What made them indispensable was their knowledge of Ita-
lian, and perhaps some knew Latin. Nicholas Ralli undoubtedly was conver-
sant with Italian, as was Georgios Tarchaniotes. Tarchaniotes remained with
Sofias's entourage but served Ivan III. In 1486 he became the Moscovite en-
voy to Italy[27] and then became the principal envoy to the Habsburgs in the
negotiatons of the 1490s. Though he knew no German, he conversed in the
"Lombard" tongue with a specially appointed Habsburg official.[28] He served
on his last mission to the king of Denmark in 1500, which probably demand-
ed a knowledge of Latin.[29]

The other Greeks used by Ivan III for contacts with the rulers of the Ital-
ian city-states were undoubtedly versed in some of the Italian dialects. The
chiefs-of-mission towards the end of the fifteenth century were Dmitrii and
Manuel Ralli in 1488-90.[30] Manuel Angelov (Angelos) in 1493-94,[31] and
Dmitrii Ralli again in 1499.[32] And in 1514 Dmitrii Lascaris went as envoy to
the Western emperor.[33]

These immigrants had special skills that made them indispensable in the
opening of Moscovite negotiations with the West, but they never enjoyed the
latitude permitted to the Italians prior to della Volpe's betrayal. After 1472
no envoy journeyed to a Western court unless accompanied by a second
ranking member of mission. The second was invariably a state secretary (*d'iak*)
who knew no other language but his own. This practice was not aimed parti-
cularly at the Greeks, but became a standardized procedure even when Rus-
sians eventually became chiefs-of-mission. The object was to guard against be-
trayal, even if it was the consequence of loose talk occasioned by excessive
drink.

Greeks were not employed as envoys to Constantinople or to the Crimea,
where a knowledge of Greek would have been advantageous. Even within the
north Russian sphere of influence or in the frequent contacts with Lithuania
the grand princes used the emigrés sparingly and almost never for important
ventures. Some became occasional messengers for Ivan III. Such were the as-

27. E. F. Shmurlo, *Россия и Италия. Сборник исторических материалов и изсле-
довании, касайщих сношении России и Италией*, III/1 (St. Petersburg, 1911), 25.

28. K. V. Bazilevich, *Внешняя политика русского централизованного государст-
ва. Вторая половина XV века* (Moscow: Издательство Московского Университета,
1952), pp. 265-66.

29. *ПСРЛ*, VI, 44; and XXVI, 292.

30. *Ibid.*, XII, 219.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 236 and 239.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

33. *Ibid.*, VI, 253; and *Памятники дипломатических сношении древней России
с державами иностранными*, 10 vols. (St. Petersburg: Въ Тип. П. Отд-ния Собствен-
ной Е. В. Канцелиярии, 1851-71), I, 176.

signments to a "Peter the Greek" and Manuel Angelov.[34] However, they continued to serve at court, occasionally acquiring positions of some respectability. The same Manuel Angelov became keeper of the seal for Vasilii III by 1509.[35]

The Lascarids and Trachaniotes attained Muscovite nobility via service in the sixteenth century and thus were included in the register of distinguished families. Dmitrii Laskirev's son, Michael, followed his father's example and enjoyed something of a court career.[36] But it was Michael's eldest son, Fedor, who became the family's success. He became a military commander of considerable distinction by the later sixteenth century.[37] His third born, Ivan, is mentioned but once in the military register as an officer in 1591.[38]

The Tarchaniotes were the most successful of the emigrés in Moscow. They were certainly the most numerous. Dmitrii and Georgios, sons of Manuel Tarchaniotes, had come to Moscow with Sofia, but Dmitrii is alleged to have died without issue.[39] An "Andrei Trakhaniotov" came to Moscow from Italy in 1506, but the document identifying him did not indicate his mission or whom he served.[40] Zimin identified "Nil the Greek," bishop of Tver', who died in 1521, as a relative, *rodich*, of the treasurer of Vasilii III, Iurii Maloi Trakhaniot.[41] But his cited evidence does not reveal the connection. Even the treasurer's name (Iurii Maloi) does not appear in the preserved Russian genealogies of the family. Only that Georgios (Iurii Manuilovich) who came with Zoë and who served Ivan III so well as a diplomat is mentioned.[42] The two are not to be confused, for Georgios the envoy was known to his contemporaries as "Iurii Manuilovich Staryi Grek."[43] Since *staryi* means old, senior, or

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34. See *Сборник Императорскаго русскаго историческаго общества*, 148 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1867-1916),XXXV, 211 and 239. Manuel Angelov served as a permanent member of Ivan III's court (*Разрядная книга, 1475-1598 гг.*, p. 26). In 1500 Ivan III sent him with orders to the Pskovian authorities commanding them to prepare their troops for an attack on Lithuania (*Псковские летописи*, ed. A. Nasonov, 2 vols. [Moscow-Leningrad: Изд. Академии наук СССР, 1941-55], I, 841) and in August, 1487, Angelov had brought news to the bishop of Perm of the Muscovite conquest of Kazan'. The chronicler identified him as "Mikula Maloi Angelov syn Grechinov" (*ПСРЛ*, XXXVI, 279).

35. *Разрядная книга, 1475-1598 гг.*, p. 144.

36. E.g., 1554: *Ibid.*, p. 144.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 269, 272, 284, 312, 320, 348, 359, 377, 381, and 385. Last mention in 1590.

38. *Разрядная книга, 1559-1605*, ed. V. I. Buganov (Moscow: "Наука," 1974), p. 263. For a reasonably reliable genealogy of Theodore Lascaris's descendants to the end of the sixteenth century, see *Ibid.*, pp. 275-76. While this appears to be more accurate than the one contained in *Временник*, X, 121, it is not complete.

39. *Ibid.*, X, 121; and *Разрядная книга, 1559-1605* p. 276.

40. *Сборник*, XXXV, 480.

41. A. A. Zimin, *Россия на пороге нового времени (Очерки полит. истории России первой трети XVI в.)* (Moscow: "Мысль," 1971), p. 255.

42. *Временник*, X, 121.

43. *ПСРЛ*, XXVI, 292.

elder and *malyi* or *maloi* is rendered as little, or, in the colloquial sense, junior, the two were not the same. In Sofia's suite in 1500 were her "boiars Dmitrii and Iurii, Greeks, and Iushko Maloi."[44] And in 1495 Iushko Maloi was identified as a member of the court and recorded as "Iushko Grek Dmitreev syn"–"Iushko son of Dmitrii the Greek."[45] Thus, Sofia's boiars were Dmitrii and Iurii (Georgios), the sons of Manuel Tarchaniotes, and Iurii the Little was the son of Dmitrii. If this analysis is correct, the genealogical records of the Tarchaniotes in Moscow are wrong. For there Dmitrii, son of Manuel, is identified as being childless, and the descendants of the Muscovite branch of Tarchaniotes were fathered by Georgios, the major domo of the despot Thomas and later the veteran envoy of Ivan III.[46] It seems to me that the recorder of the genealogy made a careless error. Iurii (Georgios), not Dmitrii, had no sons. At any rate, Iurii Dmitrievich Maloi became the confidant and influential treasurer of Vasilii III until he was disgraced in 1522.[47] According to the testimony of the Habsburg envoy to Moscow in the early sixteenth century, Iurii the Little had ambitions to marry his daughter to the young Vasilii III, but the grand prince chose a Saburova instead.[48] Iurii Maloi succeeded in the long run. His eldest son, Vasilii, became a boiar in 1550, a position he held until his death seventeen years later.[49] Vasilii's position and influence obtained major appointments as generals for his two sons, Ivan and Nikifor.[50] In the great upheaval in Ivan the Terrible's reign, when so many of the Muscovite service families suffered grievously at the hands of the monarch, not a single Tarchaniotes was executed or disgraced. They obviously remained aloof from cabals and avoided suspicion, rendering faithful service to the lord of Muscovy. Even in the seventeenth century the Tarchaniotes survived near the center of power, for a Peter Tikhonovich Trakhaniotov became a second-level royal councillor *(okol'nichii)* in the reign of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich.[51]

44. *Разрядная книга, 1475-1598 гг.*, p. 16.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
46. *Временник*, X, 121; and *Разрядная книга, 1559-1605*, p. 155.
47. Zimin, *Россия*, p. 259.
48. Sigismund von Herberstein, *Reise zu den Moskowitern*, ed. T. Seifert (München: Bruckmann, 1966), p. 97.
49. A. A. Zimin, "Состав боярской думы в XV-XVI веках," *Археографический ежегодник за 1957* (Moscow: Издательство Академий наук СССР, 1958), p. 63 and n. 263; for some of his activities, see *Разрядная книга,1475-1598 гг.*, pp.141, 152, 159, 163, 182, and 212; and A. A. Zimin,, *Опричнина Ивана Грозного* (Moscow: Издательство Социально-экономической Литературы „Мысл", 1964), pp. 162 and 179.
50. For citations, see index to *Разрядная книга, 1475-1598 гг.*, p. 590.
51. *Родословная книга*, II, 277.

These tracings are obviously incomplete. Should the subject be considered important, considerable labor needs to be invested to obtain a more complete picture of the careers of the emigré Greeks in Muscovy. Many of the surviving documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are still unpublished. A majority of the descendants of the few Greeks who came sank below the surface of visibility, probably engulfed in the mass of the servitors of lower rank. But there is enough evidence currently available to sustain the view that Muscovy hardly loomed as the land of opportunity for the refugees from fallen Byzantium.

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Byzantium, Germany, the Regnum Italicum, *and the Magyars in the Tenth Century**

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Jules Gay, in his now-classic work on the Byzantine Empire and southern Italy, observed that, after the loss of Ravenna and the other Byzantine possessions in central Italy in the early 750s, the immediate object of most Byzantine diplomacy in the West was the protection of those territories which remained under its control in southern Italy. Of course, the distant goal of Byzantine policy always remained the reconquest of the entire peninsula, and yet more remotely, the reestablishment of the Western Roman Empire. Nonetheless, it was the protection and extension of the south-Italian possessions which took precedence.[1] Although Gay did not pursue the point, it would logically follow that, in those epochs when some West European state outside Italy became powerful enough to involve itself in the affairs of the peninsula, Byzantium's notice would be attracted, and that state would be diplomatically—and, where necessary, militarily—engaged. But, in those times of chaos when no one power could make its influence felt beyond its base area, the horizon of Byzantine diplomacy dwindled to encompass only the petty rulers who came to dominate central and northern Italy, and Provence. In their preoccupation with examining what contact there was, scholars studying the relations of the empire with the Latin West frequently forget that such contact was mostly occasional in nature, and that years could pass with little in the way of a Byzantine presence outside Italy. This did not mean that the diplomats of the old empire did not keep in touch with what was going on elsewhere. But if nothing in Western Europe outside Italy seemed to be affecting their interests, the characteristic economy of action which governed the diplomatic and military strategy of the Byzantines dictated that contact be held to a minimum.

When the Exarchate of Ravenna fell, there did exist an ultramontane West-European power with strong interest in Italy: the Carolingian Kingdom under Pepin the Short and his son, Charlemagne. Thus, even after their attempt to regain the exarchate failed and the Byzantines adopted their "southern Italy first" policy, an active relationship was kept up with the Carolingians.

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*This is a greatly expanded version of a paper which I read at the Eighth Annual Conference on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, 30 April 1973.
1. J. Gay, *L'Italie mériodionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basil I jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071)* (Paris: A. Fontemoing 1904). p. iii.

The decline of the Carolingian Empire begins with the accession of Charle-
magne's son, Louis the Pious. If contacts between his court and that of Cons-
tantinople cannot be characterized as routine, neither can they be said to be
exceptional. Embassies from the East are recorded for the years 814, 817,
824, and 833.[2] The embassy of 833 witnessed the humiliation of Louis at
Compiègne and his temporary deposition, though whether the envoys felt
stupeur et chagrin at the event, as Gasquet maintains, is open to question.[3]
Nor was the traffic entirely from East to West, for we have records of at least
two legations from Louis to Byzantium: one in 815, another in 825.[4] After
the death of Louis the Pious in 840, however, we hear little of contact between
the Byzantine and Carolingian Empires, or rather the fragments into which
the latter disintegrated.

Italy was the exception. Here, the Photian affair provided the occasion for
relatively frequent missions between the papal curia and Constantinople. In
the secular sphere, there were joint military and naval operations to be planned
(and from time to time, actually executed) against the Saracens who were an
increasing menace to Italy during the late ninth and early tenth centuries. As
politics in Western Europe after the death of Charlemagne tended increasingly
towards the merely local, the scope of Byzantine diplomacy had correspond-
ingly shrunk.[5]

Despite the narrowed range of Byzantine diplomatic activity, the govern-
ment kept in touch with events beyond the Alps. In his circular letter of 867
to the other eastern patriarchs, for example, Photius clearly demonstrated
some knowledge of the unrest caused among the bishops of Italy by Pope Ni-
cholas I's centralizing tendencies, and modern scholars have inferred that the
great patriarch must also have known something of similar resentment among
the archbishops of Lorraine.[6] Citing the close connection of the Greek mon-
asteries in Rome with the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, the late F. Dvor-

2. The embassy of 814 is number 528a in J.F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, 2nd ed.
(Innsbruck: Wagnersche, Universitäts-Buchhandlung), I, 390 in F. Dölger, *Regesten der
Kaiserurkunden des ostromischen Reiches* (Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mit-
telalters und der neuren Zeit, Reihe A, Abt. 1) 5 vols. (München-Berlin: R. Oldenbourg,
1924). That of 824 is number 409 in Dölger; that of 833 is 1036f in Böhmer, and 429 in
Dölger. These reference works give summaries of the events and cite the original sources.
    3. A. Gasquet, *Etudes byzantines: l'empire byzantin et la monarchie franque* (Paris:
Hachette, 1888), p. 326. The *Annales Bertiniani*, which describe the incident under the
notice for the year (= hereafter a⁰) 833 (*Monumenta Germanae historica, Scriptores*,
ed. G.H. Pertz, *et al.*, 32 vols. (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulcici Hahniani, 1826-)
[hereafter *MGH, SS*], I, 426-27), say nothing about the reaction of the Byzantine ambas-
sadors. If anything, the implication is that the envoys took the whole thing with aplomb.
    4. The embassy of 815 is number 589a in Böhmer, and that of 825 is number 819.
    5. Gay, p. 80.
    6. J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris:
Garniers frères, 1857-66), CII, cols. 721-41, esp. 737: F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism:
History and Legend* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1948), p. 120.

nik speculated that they kept the patriarch informed about happenings not only in Rome and Italy, but all over the West.[7] Byzantine missionaries in Moravia surely could have supplied valuable information about goings-on in the fragments of Charlemagne's old empire that would later become Germany. And we must not forget that lay ambassadors on business to Rome or Pavia would have taken the opportunity to gather news from ultramontane parts.

What sort of news or rumors would they have picked up? For one thing, the news would have informed these diplomats of the need for developing a well-conceived policy toward the *Regnum Italicum*. The *Regnum Italicum,* key to Western imperial politics, was the old Lombard Kingdom with its capital at Pavia, which dominated northern Italy. Possession of this kingdom had become an essential stepping-stone to the imperial title.[8]

During the dark decades between the year 900 and Otto I's imperial coronation in 962, the Byzantine Empire did indeed evolve a well thought-out policy with regard to the *Regnum Italicum*. This policy aimed, in the first instance, at preventing anyone with significant interest north of the Alps from seizing the Lombard throne. The second aim of Byzantine policy was the establishment of a relationship between the ruling houses at Constantinople and Pavia by means of dynastic marriages.

This two-fold policy was designed to produce, appropriately enough, a two-fold result. First, it insured that the Western imperial title would be claimed —if it were claimed at all—by relatively ineffectual figures whose power would not extend to any significant degree outside of Italy. It has been plausibly maintained that Constantinople would even have been willing to cooperate with the ambitions of the insignificant warlords who came and went in the *Regnum Italicum* to the extent of conceding them a debased imperial title in return for their compliance with the aims of Byzantine foreign policy—though such a thing never actually happened.[9]

Second, from a more practical point of view, a weak ruler in Lombardy who had, moreover, dynastic ties to Byzantium would be somewhat less likely to try to expand his kingdom to its natural limits, that is, to conquer all Italy by overrunning the Byzantine possessions in the south. Despite the loss of Sicily, these holdings had expanded considerably in the second half of the ninth

7. F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode' vues de Byzance* (2nd ed. (Hattiesburg, Miss.: Academic International Press, 1969), pp. 286-87.

8. W. Ohnsorge, *Das Zweikaiserproblem im früheren Mittelalter.* Die Bedeutung des byzantinischen Reiches für die Entwicklung der Staatsidee in Europa (Hildesheim: A. Lax, 1947), p. 48: "Mit dem Besitz der langobardischen Krone was traditiongenäß der Anspruch auf das Kaisertum gegeben." See also G. Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany,* 2nd ed. (New York-Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1949), pp. 49-51.

9. R. Hiestand, *Byzanz und das Regnum italicum im 10. Jahrhundert,* Geist und Werke zu Zeit (Zürich: Fretz und Wasmuth, 1964), p. 221.

century, especially during the reign of Basil I.[10]   In the early tenth century, however, Byzantium's involvement in the life-and-death struggle with the great Bulgar ruler, Symeon, prevented it from devoting the resources to Italy which it previously had.

That powerful figures from Germany and Burgundy continued to take an interest in north Italian politics in the early tenth century, and that Byzantium was aware of this interest, there can be little doubt. "The old connexion between Germany and Italy founded on the Empire of Charles the Great, though it had ceased to be a reality since the death of the Emperor Arnulf in 899, is recalled to memory by many minor incidents in the dark years of the first half of the tenth century."[11] We have already noted that Italy was inextricably bound up with the Western emperorship.[12] Now, in the eyes of the Byzantines, the Western imperial title was worthless unless confirmed by the government at Constantinople, and even then did not rank as high as the Eastern one.[13] But, to Westerners, it had lost none of its glamour. Although by 900 Charlemagne's last insignificant descendants were quarrelling with upstarts over the fragments of their great ancestor's mighty empire, the notion of oecumenical dominion was quite lively in the realm of theory.[14]

The last man to hold the Western imperial title before 900 had been Arnulf, a remote (and illegitimate) descendant of Charlemagne who had been elected by the magnates of that portion of the former Carolingian dominion which would later become Germany. Although fairly effective in Germany, Arnulf,

10. Gay, p. 147. The Byzantine expansion reached its height in 891, when Benevento was taken and held for several years.

11. A.L. Poole, "Germany: Henry I and Otto the Great," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, [hereafter *CMH*] 8 vols. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1911-67), III, 194.

12. See n. 8 above and also Hiestand, p. 221.

13. F. Dölger, "Die 'Familie der Könige' im Mittelalter," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 60 (1940), 397-420, reprinted in *idem, Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt. Ausgewählte vorträge und Augsätze* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), pp. 34-69; K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner, der alten Besiehungen als Ausdruck eines neuen Kulturbewusstsins* (München: Springer, 1954), pp.73 ff; G. Ostrogorsky,"The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order," *Slavonic and East European Review*, 35 (1956), 1-14.

14. R. Folz, *L'idée d'empire en occident de V^e au XIVe siècle*, Collection Historique (Paris: Aubier, 1953), p. 49. For the view that the imperial title gradually lost its oecumenical character during the late ninth and early tenth centuries until it had come merely to signify a claim to the old "Middle Kingdom"' of Lothar I (Charlemagne's grandson), see Barraclough, p. 46. If the latter theory is correct it still would not affect any of the hypotheses advanced in this paper, for Byzantium would continue to regard any claim to the imperial title as a threat, whatever that claim actually meant in practice. On the whole, however, I am inclined to agree with Hiestand, p. 222, that the diminished scope of the imperial title in this epoch was not so much a failure of will as it was of power. Whether the Western emperorship's claims were oecumenical or just confined to the Middle Kingdom, the contrast between theory and fact was evident even to some contemporaries such as Regino of Prüm, whose comment, a^o 888 of his *Chronicle (MGH, SS,* I, 598), is too much of a cliché among students of the period to be repeated here.

after assuming the emperorship, never was able fully to enforce his rule in Italy. Berengar, an adventurer, seized the *Regnum Italicum* after Arnulf's death. But Berengar also had connections in Germany.

Constantinople reacted. When Adalbert of Tuscany and his wife Bertha invited Louis of Provence to wrest the Lombard throne from Berengar, they evidently had Byzantine support, for Louis was provided with an imperial princess as a bride.[15] Louis' second attempt to seize the Lombard Kingdom in 905 may have been promised a Byzantine subsidy.[16] Significantly, Berengar took refuge in Bavaria before making the successful comeback which ended in Louis' defeat, capture, and blinding.

Hugh of Arles, who took over the everyday administration of Provence after Louis' incapacitation, became king on Louis' death in 928. Succeeding where Louis the Blind had failed, Hugh invaded northern Italy, and united the *Regnum Italicum* to his Provençal possessions. But Rudolf II of Burgundy also had claims upon the Lombard Kingdom, and Hugh may have had to trade his rights in Provence for an oath from Rudolf that he would never again invade Italy.[17] Hugh maintained cordial relations with the Byzantines. He married his illegitimate daughter Bertha to Romanus, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and future Byzantine emperor. Bertha took the Greek name Eudocia upon her arrival in Constantinople.[18] These friendly relations were partially due to Hugh's using his good offices to relieve military pressure from the Lombards of southern Italy on Byzantine territories there.[19] But Byzantine diplomacy was simultaneously playing off Hugh against Alberic, who effectively controlled Rome and the papacy during much of this period.[20] Due to Alberic's hostility, the imperial crown always remained just beyond Hugh's grasp.

Meanwhile, Hugh was pursuing his ambitions in Burgundy and Germany. He fended off an attack upon his kingdom by Duke Arnold (or Arnulf) of Bavaria in 934. And after the death of Rudolf II of Burgundy, Hugh married his widow and in addition succeeded in marrying his son Lothar to Rudolf's

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15. Her name was Anna, and the pair had a son, Charles Constantine, who was alive as late as 962. Anna has been identified as a daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Leo the Wise. See C. W. Prévité-Orton, "Charles Constantine of Vienne," *The English Historical Review*, 39 (1914), 703-06.

16. Symeon Magister, ed. I. Bekker, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn: impensis E. Weber, 1828) p. 708, although the passage is doubtful in interpretation.

17. *Antapodosis*, 3:48 in *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, ed. J. Becker, Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi, 3rd ed. (Hanover and Leipzig; Hahnsche buchhandlung, 1915), p. 129.

18. Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, 5:20, p. 141; Theophanes Continuatus, *CSHB*, p. 431B.

19. Steven Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign: a Study of Tenth Century Byzantium* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1929), p. 193; Gay, p. 211.

20. Runciman, pp. 192 and 195.

daughter Adelaide. Despite this, Hugh accomplished little more than regaining his Provençal lands (if, indeed, he had ever ceded them to Rudolf II in the first place). Still, though of course we cannot ever be certain of this, his policies would probably have eventually led to a strained relationship with the East. The maxim that no one with significant interests north of the Alps could be permitted to hold the *Regnum Italicum* still applied.

In any case, Hugh's plans were not allowed to come to fruition, for in 945 he was deposed by Berengar II, and withdrew to his Provençal dominions. His son Lothar, whom Berengar had permitted to stay on as nominal King of Italy, died suddenly in 950, allowing Berengar to assume the name as well as the power of king.[21] Lothar's widow, the beautiful Adelaide, was, as we have seen, connected to the ruling house of Burgundy, and had many other ties to the North. To be sure, Berengar also had northern connections: when Hugh had first got wind of Berengar's plot against him, he had intended to blind him. But Berengar, like his namesake and predecessor Berengar I, sought refuge in Germany (Swabia). There, powerful friends—Duke Herman of Swabia and Otto I—protected him, despite Hugh's attempts, backed by substantial bribes, at effecting a forced repatriation.[22] When Berengar returned to Italy for the successful assault on Hugh's power in 945 he had at least the tacit support of Herman and Otto.

But by 950, Berengar's interests had diverged from those of his German patrons. When after the death of Lothar, Berengar had himself and his son Adalbert crowned joint Kings of Italy, and the two began openly to threaten Adelaide, the Germans moved swiftly.

The new star that was rising in the North was that of Otto I, since 936 Duke of Saxony and King of Germany. In Otto we see once again a West European statesman who not only had a focus which transcended the narrow confines of his native region, but also had the power to realize his ambitions. An all-European polity was in the process of being reborn. The external symbol of this change was the revival of an effective Western imperial title when Pope John XII crowned Otto Emperor in February, 962.

The initial step in Otto's drive for the emperorship was to bring Berengar II and Adalbert under his influence. His first invasion of Italy in 951 resulted in his marriage to Adelaide and in the ceremony at Augsburg in August, 952. There, in the presence of Byzantine envoys, Otto, King of Germany, received

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21. For the view that Berengar's overlordship in the Lombard Kingdom was *romfrei*— i.e., an attempt at creating a purely "national" Italian state without any imperial overtones, thus divorcing the kingship of the *Regnum Italicum* from its traditional associations with the emperorship—see Hiestand, pp. 194-220, esp. 202-04.
22. Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, 5:12, 13, in *Liudprands Werke*, pp. 136-37.

the homage of Berengar and Adalbert.[23] The Lombard Kingdom was now a German—or rather, a Saxon—fief.

At this point we must pause and ask ourselves some searching questions about the relationship of Byzantine diplomacy to all this. If we accept the hypothesis which has been advanced in this paper—that the primary object of Byzantine Western diplomacy was the preservation of the south Italian territories, and that one of the methods used to achieve this end was to keep the *Regnum Italicum* in the hands of a succession of weak rulers whose effective powers (whatever their ambitions) did not extend beyond Italy—then we must conclude that the events of 951-52 seemed to signal the disintegration of all for which Byzantium had striven.

On the other hand, there is an alternative explanation of these events which says quite the opposite thing: that Byzantium actively promoted Otto's Italian intervention. Most articulately expounded by Werner Ohnsorge, it runs thus. In the year 945, two events took place almost simultaneously. As we have already seen, Hugh of Arles was deposed by Berengar II in that year. Meanwhile at Constantinople, the usurping Lecapeni had also been deposed in a bloodless coup, and replaced by the legitimate heir to the Byzantine throne, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who would reign until 959. Constantine despised Romanus Lecapenus and his sons for a number of reasons. For years, they had kept him in the background while they had in effect usurped the imperial throne. Toward the end, a movement had been afoot to oust Constantine completely, and substitute the Lecapeni for the legitimate Macedonian Dynasty of which he was the representative. Second, Romanus had forced Constantine's son, Romanus II, into a humiliating marriage with the daughter (and an illegitimate daughter at that) of an insignificant Italian warlord: Bertha, the daughter of Hugh. No wonder that Constantine later wrote of Romanus that he was "a common, illiterate fellow" (ἰδιώτης καὶ ἀγράμματος ἄνθρωπος).[24]

In addition to this, Hugh had for purely practical reasons outworn his usefulness to the Byzantines. Therefore, a major reorientation in Byzantine policy toward the West can be observed after 945. Hugh and Lothar were abandoned to Berengar and Adalbert. More importantly, the Byzantines also recog-

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23. For the incident itself, see Flodoard, *Annales*, aᵒ 952, in *MGH, SS,* III, 401; and Widikund, *Res Gestae Saxonicae,* 3:10 in *MGH, SS,* III, 452. Neither, however, mentions the presence of Byzantine envoys at the ceremony. The source for this is Liudprand, *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana,* 5, in *Liudprands Werke,* pp. 136-37, which describes one of the numerous heated exchanges between Liudprand and Nicephorus Phocas.

24. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio,* 13, eds. Gy. Moravcsik and R.J.H. Jenkins, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantine, rev. ed. (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967), p. 72. The work itself will hereafter be cited as *DAI.*

nized the growing power of Otto in the North, and aligned themselves with this power. By 950, the main outlines of this new policy were beginning to e-merge. A "grand alliance" of the Byzantine Empire, the Omayyad Caliphate of Spain, and the Germans under Otto I was shaping up, directed against the Muslims of Africa, who were also occupying Sicily. Berengar was to be per-suaded to submit to Otto, and the Hungarians not to attack Germany while he intervened in the Byzantine interest in southern Italy. The whole thing would be cemented by a marriage between Otto's niece, Hedwig of Bavaria (Otto himself had no daughters) and Romanus II.[25]

There has been one plausible modification to this hypothesis. According to this modified reconstruction of events, the date of the reorientation of Byz-antine Western policy should be pushed forward to some time after 949, rath-er than 945. Constantine, although he personally despised Romanus, had lit-tle reason to change his Western policy in 945. First of all, at the time of his accession to the throne, Constantine could not have known of Hugh's deposi-tion by Berengar, given the several weeks of travel it took to get from Italy to Constantinople. Furthermore, Hugh's illegitimate daughter, Bertha/Eudocia, was still alive and married to Constantine's son, Romanus II. In addition, Constantine thought Hugh a somewhat more distinguished person than he real-ly was, and actually wrote up a false genealogy making Hugh more closely re-lated to Charlemagne. Finally, an ambassador of Hugh, Bishop Sigefried of Parma, happened to be in Constantinople at the time of the coup which dis-placed the Lecapeni and placed (or replaced) Constantine on the throne. Sig-efried threw his support to Constantine, a fact which the Porphyrogenitus could not help but remember with favor.[26]

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25. Ohnesorge, *Zweikaiserproblem,* p. 51; R.J.H. Jenkins, *Byzantium: the Imperial Centuries, AD 610-1071* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966), pp. 262-66. The source for the proposed marriage of Hedwig and Romanus II is a passage in Ekkehard IV, *MGH, SS,* II, 122-23.

26. Hiestand, pp. 196-99, makes a plausible case for modification of Ohnesorge's views. Jenkins, *Byzantium,* seems unaware of the existence of Hiestand's book, but Ar-nold Toynbee, although not mentioning it in *Constantine Porphyrogentius and His World* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973), p. 19, either knows of Hiestand's conclusions or has arrived at them independently. The source for the story about Sigefried of Parma is Liudprand, *Antapodosis,* 5:21, in *Liudprands Werke,* p. 143. For a genealogical table il-lustrating most of the family relationships mentioned in this article, see R.J.H. Jenkins, F. Dvornik, Gy. Moravcsik, S. Runciman, *et al, De Administrando Imperio, vol. II: Com-mentary* (London: Univ. of London, The Athlone Press, 1962), p. 84. Note that in this table, the marriage of Anna and Louis the Blind is shown, but Charles Constantine, the offspring of the union, is not. Constantine Porphyrogenitus' (conscious or unconscious) error in drawing up Hugh's genealogy lay in making Adalbert of Tuscany Hugh's real fa-ther (instead of his stepfather), and then going on to depict Adalbert as a descendant of Charlemagne. Actually, it was Hugh's mother, Bertha, who was the descendant of the great Frankish ruler, so Hugh was a Carolingian only through the female line. See *DAI,* 26. p. 109.

What are the advantages of this hypothesis (with or without the modification)? It does explain the proposed marriage of Hedwig and Romanus II—although the marriage never took place. It also explains the renewed diplomatic activity on the part of the Byzantines in Germany. We know that Byzantine embassies appeared in Otto's court in 944, 945, and 949, bearing gifts.[27] As we have seen, yet another group of Byzantine envoys was present in Germany in 952, when Berengar and Adalbert submitted to Otto at Augsburg. Yet here again, as with the marriage of Hedwig which never took place, difficulties crop up. If we go along with the revised version of this interpretation of events and say that the Byzantines did not begin to align themselves with Germany until 949 or later, we must find some motivation other than the proposal of an alliance for the delegations of 944 and 945. Perhaps these embassies were merely for information-gathering and goodwill. Ultramontane Europe was stirring again, and events there might affect Italy. It behooved the Byzantine foreign office to obtain some first-hand intelligence about Otto's power. As for the "gifts" mentioned by our sources, an exchange of presents has been customary with special diplomatic missions from earliest times to our own day.

Having said all this, one final difficulty must be confronted—a difficulty which, in my opinion, the abovementioned interpretation of Byzantine Western policy in the 940s and 950s does not adequately explain. For despite Otto's assertion of his supremacy over the *Regnum Italicum*—the traditional stepping-stone to the Western imperial title—in August, 952, his actual coronation as emperor did not come until February, 962, a decade later. Why? One scholar rather lamely concludes that Otto "carefully abstained from running foul of Byzantine influence in Italy. But. . . Romanus [II] had married the Byzantine Theophano [instead of Otto's neice, Hedwig] and in 959 his father [Constantine VII], the faithful ally of Otto, died; so that there was longer any diplomatic obstacle to bar German intervention in Italy."[28]

This presents a distorted picture of what really happened. Perhaps Constantine Porphyrogenitus was the faithful ally of Otto, and perhaps the accepted view of a grand alliance between Otto and the Byzantines cemented by a dynastic marriage has some element of truth to it. But the fact remains that even in the absence of these factors, Otto's hands would have remained tied with respect to Italy during most of the 950s. Why? Because of the outbreak of a great rebellion in Germany, which he did not completely suppress until 960. This rebellion was so widespread that in the late nineteenth and early

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27. *Annales Hildsheimenses, Annales Quedlinburgenses,* aº 944, 945, 949, in *MGH, SS,* III, 56. The embassy of 944 is, however, probably a copyist's error in the *Annales Quedlinburgenses,* and is in all likelihood identical with that of 945. The embassy of 944/ 45 is number 127d in Böhmer, 651 in Dölger. That of 949 is number 174a in Böhmer, 658 in Dölger.

28. Jenkins, *Byzantium,* p. 284.

twentieth centuries, several German historians advanced the theory that it was a "nationalistic" uprising, caused by German resentment over Otto's involvement in Italian affairs. More recent investigators have assigned more personal causes to it: Liudolf, Otto's son by his first wife, correctly foresaw that he stood to lose by his father's second marriage to Adelaide and that Otto would favor the children of this union over him. Liudolf's revolt was aided and abetted by other discontented elements among the German nobility: Duke Conrad of Lorraine, the Archbishops of Mainz and Salzburg, and others.[29]

At this point, yet another factor enters the picture: the Magyars. This Turkic tribe—or rather, group of tribes—had been the scourge of Germany since about 900, having settled on the plains of Hungary after being driven from their temporary home north of the Bulgar Kingdom by the Pechenegs, another group of Turkish marauders from the steppes. Is it possible that the long arm of Byzantine diplomacy may have been involved in the Magyar attacks on Germany after 950? These attacks exacerbated Otto's problems with the rebellious German nobles, who on occasion joined the Magyars in a common front.[30] The circumstantial evidence hinting at Byzantine involvement is impressive, especially if we accept the view that, far from welcoming Otto's Italian plans, the easterners did not want a strong power in control of the *Regnum Italicum*.

The Magyars had had a long history of acting as catspaws for Byzantium's chestnuts. Their run-in with the dreaded Pechenegs had been due to the Byzantines' inciting them to attack the Bulgar Kingdom from the north, thus creating a "second front" for the Bulgars, who were at war with Byzantium at the time. But Symeon, the Bulgar king, showed that two could play the same game by getting the Pechehegs, who in their turn dwelt north of the Magyars, to attack them. The Pecheneg attack was successful, and in 896 the Magyars were forced from their old home to Hungary, where they remain to this day.[31] Byzantine-Magyar relations, however, were by no means completely broken off. Despite the intervening stretch of Bulgar territory, contact was frequent, though at the beginning evidence indicates that it was only with those tribes of the Magyar confederation which dwelt farthest to the south that links were maintained. Byzantine sources of the early tenth century show extensive knowledge only of those districts of Hungary which were once under Roman

29. Poole, "Germany", pp. 195-201.

30. On the Hungarian invasions of Western Europe, see the neglected work of Gina Fasoli, *Le Incursioni Ungare in Europe nel Secolo X* (Firenze: G. C. Sansoni, 1945). For the invasions of Germany during the 950s, see pp. 153 ff., especially pp. 185-212. The author has the extraordinary habit of quoting the Greek sources in Latin from the translations which almost invariably accompanied editions of these sources until the late nineteenth century. Otherwise this is a first-rate work, well supplied with maps.

31. *DAI*, 40: p. 178.

rule.[32] However, by the mid-tenth century, the imperial government at Constantinople should have gained a considerably fuller knowledge of the map of Central and West Central Europe from a number of sources. One of these sources would have been the embassies to Germany in the 940s. Yet another source was the Magyar embassy to Constantinople of 949.

According to Scylitzes, in the year 949, a Magyar chief, Bulcsu (Βουλοσουδῆς), came to Constantinople with many of his nobles to be baptized. He was given the rank of Patrician by the emperor and went back to his homeland. Yet another Hungarian leader, Gyula, also came to Constantinople to be baptized. This story is corrobrated by Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself. Interestingly enough, Scylitzes goes on to tell us that Bulcsu later made war on the "Franks" and was ultimately captured and impaled (ἀνεσκολοπίσθη) by their king, Otto.[33]

Now let us have a look at an alternate scenario for the events of 950-60: As the old Carolingian Empire disintegrated, Byzantine diplomatic activity north of the Alps dwindled. The government at Constantinople, however, kept a watchful eye on developments in northern Europe, and may have been aware that Germany was worth watching even before the reign of Henry I, Otto's father.[34] Embassies were dispatched in the 940s to keep an eye on things. Throughout his reign, we know that envoys of many nations met at Otto's court, and even at this early date the Byzantines would have had the opportunity to amass much valuable information.[35] When they came, the Byzantines bore gifts—not all of which were intended for their Saxon host. By the late 940s, it had become obvious that Otto was indeed powerful enough

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32. Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, trans. M. Szegedy-Maszak (Amsterdam: Adolf Hackkert, 1970), p. 57.

33. John Scylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn, Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, V, 239:   τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ φράγγων ποιῆσαι διανοηθεὶς καὶ ἁλοὺς ἀνεσκολοπίσθη ὑπὸ ῎Ωτου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν.. . Bulcsu's death is confirmed by the *Annales Sangallenses Maiores*, a⁰ 955: "Otto rex cum Agerenis pugnabat in festivitate Sancti Laurentii, eosque Deo auxiliate devicit.   Et erat numerus eorum C milia et multi illorum comprehensi sunt cum rege eorum nomine Pulszi, et suspensi sunt in patibulis." *MGH, SS*, I, 79. Note that the Latin source has Otto hanging rather than impaling him.

34. W. Ohnsorge, "Drei Deperdita der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei und die Frankadressen in Zeremonienbuch des Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos," *Byzantinischen Zeitschrift*, 45(1952), 230-39, reprinted in *idem, Abendland und Byzanz. Gesammlte Aufsätze aus Geschichte der byzantinisch-abendländischen Beziehungen und des Kaisertums* (Darmstadt: H. Gentner, 1958), 227 54, gives evidence for embassies to Saxony as early as 896 and 912.

35. Flodoard, *Annales*, a⁰ 949, for example, speaks of the many ethnic groups whose diplomatic representatives waited upon Otto: "Ibi tunc divarsarum gentium affuere legationes, Graecorum scilicet, Italicorum, Anglorum, et aliorum quorundam populorum." *MGH, SS*, III, 398. For the later part of Otto's reign, Lambert's *Annales*, a⁰ 973, speak of legates "plurimarum gentium, id est, Romanorum, Graecorum, Beneventorum Italorum, Ungariorum, Danorum, Sclavorum, Bulgariorum, atque Ruscorum, cum magnis muneribus" *MGH, SS*. III, 63.

to intervene in Italian affairs should the opportunity present itself. Byzantine policy in response to this used both the carrot and the stick. The "carrot" was the offer (never carried out) of marriage between Otto's niece and Romanus II. The "stick" was the incitement of a new Magyar attack on Germany. As with the Bulgars, the Byzantines sought to create a "second front" for the Saxons, diverting their attention from Italy. Such a course of action was not unusual. After all, an illegitimate daughter of Hugh of Arles had been married off to Romanus II already, yet evidence indicates that the Byzantines had had a role in Hugh's failure to persuade the papacy to grant him the imperial crown.

Berengar II, who had become King of Italy (or Lombardy) after Lothar's death in 950, proved a disloyal subordinate during the 950s, when he had a free hand due to Otto's preoccupation with German affairs. But when Berengar and his son Adalbert turned against Pope John XII, Otto at last found the pretext for resuming his Italian plans. His crushing defeat of the Magyars at the Lechfeld in 955, and the general tranquility to which he had reduced the nobility and high ecclesiastics, now left him free to pursue his imperial avocation. In 960, John appealed to Otto for help. Large numbers of disaffected Lombard notables, both lay and ecclesiastic, joined in the appeal.[36] Thus it was that in the late summer of 961 Otto crossed the Alps and took Pavia, the capital of the *Regnum Italicum.* In February, 962, he was crowned emperor in St. Peter's at Rome. With the imperial title secured, Otto turned against John XII—a change of attitude for which the corrupt and high-living pope was not entirely unresponsible.[37] John in retaliation opened negotiations with Adalbert, Berengar's son. More important for our purposes, he also attempted to enter into negotiations with both the Byzantines and the Magyars.[38]

The knot of circumstantial evidence linking Greek and Magyar now pulls together. An anti-German (or rather, anti-Saxon) coalition was in process of formation: the papacy, Adalbert, the Magyars, and the Byzantines. But alas!—although Adalbert was contacted, John's messengers to Hungary and Constantinople were intercepted before they could take ship (our source for the incident makes it quite clear that they were travelling together).[39] In any

36. Liudprand, *Liber de Rebus Gestis Ottonis,* 1, in *Liudprands Werke* pp. 159-60.
37. J. Haller, *Das Papsttum, Idee und Wirklichkeit,* 3 vols. in 5, (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1951), I, 324, characterizes John XII as "ein lebenlüstiger Kavalier."
38. There is no contradiction here with my article "A Tenth-Century 'Emperor Michael of Constantinople'," *Speculum,* 48 (1973), 538-44, where I argue that John was not expecially friendly with Byzantium before 960 (or at least that no evidence exists for such friendliness). By 963, the situation had obviously changed radically.
39. Liudprand, *Liber. . .Ottonis,* 6, in *Liudprands Werke* p. 163; "Constantinopolim domno papa eos ob iniuriam nostram profiscentes dirigente, Capuae sunt, ut audivimus, capto. *Quibuscum* etiam Saleccum, natione Bulgarium, educatione Ungarium, domni papae familiarissimum, et Zacheum, virum reprobatum . . . a domno papâ episcopum noviter consecratum et Ungariis ad praedicandum, ut super nos irruant. . . ." ' (My italics.)

case, the Magyars would never again pose the threat they had before 955. Be-
rengar II would die with his wife in 966, an exile in Bamberg; his son Adalbert,
near Autun in 975 after some ineffective operations as an ally of the Byzan-
tines against the Germans.

The Byzantines now found themselves with no effective Western allies.
The *Regnum Italicum*, as in Charlemagne's day, was in the hands of a power-
ful ruler from the North who had automatically placed himself in a position
of ideological hostility to Byzantium by claiming the Western imperial title.
On a more concrete level, Otto, after his coronation, proceeded to menace the
Byzantine domains in south Italy. He received the homage of Paldolf Ironhead,
Prince of Capua-Benevento, who had previously recognized Byzantine suzer-
ainty in a vague sort of fashion.[40] The gates to Apulia and Calabria were now
open, and there was beginning to emerge a distinct possibility that the *Reg-
num Italicum* would become so in fact as well as name, when Otto's gener-
alship extended its frontiers to their natural limits.

It seemed that the ruin of Byzantine Italian policy was at hand. The Ita-
lian themes could never be the beneficiaries of any significant and prolonged
military effort in their defense so long as the energies of the empire were ful-
ly occupied in Asia and the Balkans. But the Contantinopolitan government
had by no means exhausted its resources. It now had recourse to two strate-
gems. The first was to use Otto's desire for a *porphyrogenita* as wife for his
son, Otto II. Of course, the marriage did ultimately take place, but not be-
fore excruciatingly prolonged negotiations which were at times broken off.
Otto II had been crowned co-emperor with his father in 967—the institution
of *Mitkaisertum* had long flourished in the West.[41] In 968, Liudprand of Cre-
mona was dispatched on his marriage-mission to Constantinople—an embassy
immortalized by the witty and caustic report Liudprand later submitted to
the Ottos. But at the very moment he was conducting his negotiations, an en-
voy from Adalbert, Berengar's son, was dickering with the Byzantines in an
attempt to get their aid in shoring up his master's collapsing power. Thus, the
second strategem: a fleet was dispatched to Italy, accompanied by a small
number of men-at-arms, and —more important—a quantity of money to pay
the large army which Adalbert himself was to raise. The Byzantines, however,
were suspicious about how much power actually remained to Adalbert. Con-
sequently, the commanding officer of the expeditionary force was told that if
in his opinion Adalbert's forces were insufficient to operate effectively against
Otto, the fleet and men-at-arms were to be witheld, and the money intended
to pay Adalbert's army diverted instead directly to Otto as a bribe.[42]

40. Gay, pp. 304-23; C.W. Prévité-Orton, "Italy in the Tenth Century," in *CMH*. III,
166-67.
41. W. Ohnsorge, "Das Mitkaisertum in der abendländischen Geschichte das früheren
Mittelalters," in *idem, Abendland und Byzanz*, pp. 261-87.
42. Liudprand, *Legatio*, 29, 30 in *Liudprands Werke*, pp. 159-60.

Byzantine suspicions proved correct. Adalbert's support had dwindled and he was no longer a factor in Italian politics. Hounded across the Alps by the Germans, he would, as we have already seen, die in exile near Autun in 975. The war between Otto I and Paldolf Ironhead on one side, and the Byzantines on the other, was marked by successes and failures for both parties. The Byzantines at last succeeded in capturing Paldolf, and when a coup brought John I Timisces to the Byzantine throne through the murder of the rough and uncultured soldier-monk Nicephorus Phocas, a more conciliatory policy ensued. The Italian stalemate was broken, or rather perpetuated, through the marriage of the Princess Theophano to Otto II. The Principality of Capua-Benevento. though nominally a German vassal, now served in fact as a buffer between Greeks and Germans. A troubled partition would remain the unhappy lot of southern Italy until the Norman invasions of the next century.

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*Miscellaneous Genoese Documents on
the Levantine World of the Late
Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries*

The following pages offer some gleanings from an exploration of the po-
litical and diplomatic documents of the late medieval republic of Genoa, as
they survive and are preserved in the present-day Archivio di Stato of that ci-
ty.

The rich archival materials of Genoa have long been exploited by scholars
for the notarial collections they include. But these are predominantly used
for information and data on commercial transactions and, beyond that, on
the social life and institutions of medieval Genoa itself. The political docu-
mentation and diplomatic resources that one would hope to draw from the
archives of one of the two most powerful and active Italian maritime and co-
lonial powers of the later Middle Ages have, by contrast, represented a very
small portion of the attention and publications of modern scholars. The gap
seems the more striking when comparison is made with the vast resources of
the other great Italian maritime power, Venice, as preserved in the latter's
archives, and as studied and published voluminously for many generations. It
was as a specialist in Byzantine history, and especially in the later centuries
of Byzantium, that the present writer undertook an exploration of the Geno-
ese archives to see what materials there might be touching directly or indirect-
ly on Genoa's dealing with late Byzantium and its world.[1]

The principal reason for the lack of much essentially political documenta-
tion being drawn from Genoese archival resources is, of course, that there is
not much to be found there to begin with. Several factors account for this re-
lative scarcity of political material in the Genoese archives. One such factor is

the attrition of what may originally have existed, due to disasters. The civil disturbances in 1339, attending the elevation of Simone Boccanegra as the first Doge of Genoa, included systematic destruction of governmental archives and files by mobs eager to overthrow the old order and to obliterate records of old debts or obligations. By contrast, notarial records were apparently kept in secure deposit separate from state records, as were also the treaties Genoa had made with foreign powers, so that such materials escaped the fate of other governmental papers. Other disasters, deliberate or unintentional, have decimated the archives since. Fires resulting from the French bombardment of Genoa in 1684 seem to have taken some toll, as did the devastations of World War II (from the scars of which the Archivio's facilities seem still not to have recovered totally in some respects).

Among other factors limiting Genoese political and diplomatic data, however, one cannot help including a basic weakness that must have existed in Genoa's governmental structure. The Venetians had developed a highly sophisticated and smoothly operating governmental machinery; they had a strong sense of the state as an idea, as a source of stability, and as a focus of loyalty. By comparison, the Genoese seem to have had a far less abstract and consistent governmental rationale. Torn by internal strife, with its social upheavals, its factional rivalries, and its manipulations of a few great families or interest groups, and buffetted by the pressures of competing foreign dominations, Genoa certainly lacked the stability and steady continuity of governmental operation that the Venetian state achieved. Government in Genoa was, rather, the operation of the faction in power at the moment to its own advantage, working through frameworks of institutions that existed in theory and on paper but probably only sporadically in reality much of the time, one suspects.

Finally, the medieval outlooks of the Genoese, in contrast with the Venetians, can be sensed in the contrast between Genoa and Venice as cities, even today. Venice has always been a cosmopolitan center, its citizens delighting in colorful ostentation, and its leaders proud of sustaining an independent state and passionately curious about all that was going on in the world around them. The Venetian state's documents reflect this spirit, and, accordingly, the reports by its alert diplomats and the deliberations of its well-informed officials are mines of information on the events of the day. Genoa, by comparison, was and is essentially a port and financial city, interested in the immediate transactions of business, with only marginal time for anything else not related to them. Cosmopolitan curiosity and the arts assume a difinitely minor role in the city's life. One must be careful about generalizing from silence, but some of the yawning gaps in Genoese archival documentation of political and diplomatic activities may result simply from the absence of interest in them in the first place.

The pre-eminent difficulty in searching for political documents in the Genoese archives, however, remains one of scanty survival. A description of

the collections in the Archivio di Stato drawn upon for what follows may serve to illustrate the difficulties.

The basic collection of formal diplomatic documents is the *Materie politiche*, containing the texts of treaties between Genoa and other states. These are kept in large pouches or *mazzi*, and the treaties, from the earliest preserved (post-Carolingian), into the fifteenth century may be found in the first ten, in the old numbering system (re-numbered as 2720-2729), supplemented by M. 18B and M. 18D (2727B and 2737D). The contents of the entire collection has been catalogued helpfully by Lisciandrelli,[2] and all of those dealing with Byzantium have been published, sometimes repeatedly, so that they are well known and quite accessible. Under those circumstances, the texts of the *Materie politiche* have not been reproduced here.

The texts published herewith have, instead, come from three other, more general collections, representing broader categories of governmental enactments by the Genoese state. The first two collections, though exhibiting some distinctive characteristics and though filed and preserved separately, overlap considerably, and both reflect the actions of the highest agencies of the state: the *Consilium Ancianorum*, or Council of Elders, together with the executive official prevailing in Genoa at the time (the Doge, or, in times of foreign domination, the Governor or his Locumténens); and sometimes in conjunction with the *Officium Romanie,* the Colonial Office for holdings in the East. The third collection is, of course, of a specialized nature, but its contents likewise recorded the actions of the same state agencies. Considered individually, these collections are as follows:

Diversorum negociorum Cancellarie Communis Ianue: in the so-called *Archivio Segreto*, an official and systematic register of governmental actions touching internal administration and colonial regulation, including matters sometimes relating to international diplomacy. Entered systematically, in strict order of date, if by a diversity of scribal hands, in folio gatherings that have been bound together into volumes; the pages and items subsequently numbered. Volume 1 in the old enumeration (496 in the new numbering) contains texts of the year 1380; Volume 2 (497) contains texts for 1382; Volume 3 (498) jumps to 1398, and Volume 4 (499) gives texts of 1399; Volume 5 (500) contains more from 1399 but in helterskelter fashion; Volume 6 (501) runs from May of 1403 through 1405; Volume 7 (502) gives 1408 systematically; but Volume 8 (503) runs from 1411 to March of 1413, and contains almost totally private rather than state transactions; Volume 9 (504) covers March 1415 into 1416, with items also from 1421-22, all in disarray and in careless or unintelligible hands; Volume 10 (505) gives more from 1416,

while Volume 11 (506) covers 1419 to May of 1422, with many gaps; Volume 12 (507) covers from October 1422 through 1423; Volume 13 (508) covers 1424, and from this point on each volume is then securely devoted to an individual year. Clearly, the organization as we now have it represents a much belated imposition of order onto the material up to the early 1420s, which must have survived in a very fragmentary fashion.

Diversorum Communis Ianue: groupings of loose, individual documents, covering a mix of governmental decisions sometimes on state matters but more often on individual concerns, such as ajudications or decisions on requests or on problems of private citizens. The documents range from the original petitions and communications to governmental agencies, to file copies of actions as transcribed from notarial registers. Many of the original documents bear notarial seals, some surviving, some vanished, falling off, or crumbled away. Of diverse sizes and shapes, the documents are usually written on folio sheets, either single or multiple, often in double columns, and all folded oblong for storage in large stacked piles, bundled between end-boards and bound with cords. At some point, these bundles were each pierced with a large needle or spike, possible so as to run a cord through them from the bottom-board to secure them for bundling: though such a central cord is no longer run through them, the resultant holes punched in each document often disfigure the text. (In other words, these documents have suffered the fate of being, in the latter-day phrase, "folded, spindled, and mutilated.") Within every bundle, each document is numbered consecutively by a modern librarian. The first bundle in this collection, numbered 3021, is designated as covering the years 1375-1419, though there is in fact little in it beyond 1409, and this grouping is clearly in comprehensive catchall of such early documents as were found to survive at a later point; the second bundle, 3022, covers the years 1420-24, while the next, 3032, contains 1425-26, and thereafter the successive bundles regularly cover either one or two years each.

Instructiones et relaciones: a part of the so- called *Archivio Segreto* (and also titled in the Italian catalogue, *Instruzioni e Relazioni a Ministri, Podesta, Inviati, etc.*), a collection of file-copies of instructions to diplomats and colonial agents, as generally transcribed from notarial registers. Each document is numbered in consecutive modern sequence and isolated in its own little paper sheath or wrapping. The pertinent texts are all to be found in this collection's first pouch, numbered 2707A in the Archivio di Stato's system of generic enumeration, which contains materials from the years 1396-1464.

Beyond these three collections, there are others that are worth consulting. Another of the *Archivio Segreto* categories, the *Litterarum,* is a systematic file, entered on folio gatherings and bound into volumes transcribing in chronological order official letters of the Genoese government to foreign rules or regimes, its first volume (No. 1777) covering 1411-13, and the next twenty-some-odd of them covering subsequent groups of years (often overlapping)

through the fifteenth century. Another collection of loose documents, the *Politicorum,* contains odds and ends on both domestic and foreign matters; the pertinent groups being the first two (No. 1647: 1383-1450;and No. 1648: 1451-81). From the surviving files of the Banco di San Giorgio, the *Carte dei primi Cancellieri delle compere di S. Giorgio* begins with one group (B. 88: *Oriente e Colonie*) that contains mixed odds and ends of the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries, mainly on Cyprus, occasionally on a few other places (Mitylene), and only rarely on Pera. Beyond these are scanty registers for some colonial agencies. Many of these collections offer passing scraps and references on the Eastern Mediterranean world, but they are insignificant and often rare. Setting aside the *Materie politiche,* as described, and the accounts of Pera or the Crimean colonies, fairly well published or reported by now, most that is to be found with any bearing on the Byzantine and Levantine world of "Romania" is in the three major collections specified and described above.

Even such findings are, by and large, trivial and add little or nothing in the way of major new information. Indeed, the texts offered below are themselves not of very dramatic importance. None has been published before in full, to my knowledge, though some have been cited. As the individual commentaries suggest, however, they offer some occasionally interesting sidelights and, in some cases, are worth having in print perhaps as specimens of their kind of text.

Nevertheless, what emerges from an overview of the Archivio's available holdings is the noteworthy absence of much surviving material that can be of help to the historian of the politics and diplomacy of the Byzantine and Eastern Mediterranean world, beyond relatively minor scraps. Documentation of the functioning and activities of the Genoese government does not begin in surviving materials for before the end of the thirteenth century, and not in really systematic fashion for before the 1420s. By that time, what direct transactions were conducted by Genoese with Byzantine and the Ottoman government, for example, may have been handled through the officials of Pera, if not the Banco di San Giorgio, with decreasing involvement of the distracted home government of Genoa itself. This is not to say that scrutiny is not worthwhile, however. Especially fruitful might be a prolonged combing of the notarial registers for the age, since these sometime record transactions and individual dealings touching on diplomatic matters not otherwise preserved in governmental documentation. Unfortunately, such a combing would require prolonged application, and the mastery of the particularly difficult handwriting involved, qualities normally brought to bear by specialists and researchers who look for different kinds of material or information.

The texts presented below are a selection from among many studied, and kept within an arbitrarily chosen time-period that happens to conform to this writer's research interests. None has been published before in full or in part. It should be stressed that the transcriptions represent the efforts of a novice

and interloper in the area. They are ventured for the sake of the value these texts might have to students of the period, in the hope that more experienced specialists in this palaeographic realm will be indulgent as to the mistakes or gaucheries that a beginner risks committing.[3] Every effort has been made to keep the transcription faithful to the original in terms of punctuation, capitalization, and paragraph divisions, but adjustments have been introduced to accommodate intelligibility where necessary. Simple scribal insertions have been indicated by the normal symbols: $<\ >$. But there are many instances where excisions or corrections were made and there seemed no point in most of these cases in indicating anything but the final wording. Ellipses in titles or formal wordings are as in the original, and reflect no abridgement in transcription; the only cases of editorial ellipsis are those of the duplicated texts in IIc and IId, as clearly indicated.

TEXTS

1a. 7 March 1382. The Doge, the Council of Elders, and the War Office
(*Officium guerre*) consider the troubled situation in Romania and the
Black Sea areas: there is strife in the family of Emperor John V of Con-
stantinople, which city is dominated by Murad I; and the Despot Dob-
rotitsa of the Dobrudja and Emperor Alexios III of Trebizond are wag-
ing was against Genoese holdings; all to the detriment of Genoa. Taking
account of these circumstances, the Council authorizes the designation
of officers to represent its interests in these regions and provides for
their households and arrangements. (Archivio di Stato di Genova, Archi-
vio Segreto, *Diversorum negociorum Cancellarie Communis Ianue*, 497
[1382], No. 69, f. viii^v= 38^v, and f. viiii^v= 39^v.)

M^{o}ccc^{o}lxxxii^o die septima mensis Martii

Magnificus dominus . . . dux Januensis, etc. . . <Spectabile> Consilium
Antianorum eiusdem undecim presentibus de dicto Consilio, absente uno
domino Georgio Honesto jurisperito, <egregium officium guerre presen-
tibus tribus de dicto officio absens uno, Gasparro Cothalosa,> necnon   5
Sapientes viri dominus Leonardus de Montecaldo jurisperitus, Franchus
Lercarus, Nicolaus Marruffus et Julianus de Mari, officiales constituti
super provisionibus partium Romanie et maris maioris.
    Scientes et multimode notitiam habentes, quemadmodum inter domi-
num Imperatorem Kaloiane Paleologum et natos eiusdem sunt conven-   10
tur odia, rancores et discordie; et quod exinde tam pater quam filii red-
duntur subiecti Amorato turcho, et periculum imminet ne Civitas Con-
stantinopolitana, subiugetur domino prelibati Amorati turchi; quod si
accideret ad maximum cederet Communis Ianue detrimentum et damp-
num; voluntes <tam> in <hiis quam in factis guerrarum vigentium in-   15
ter loca Communis partium predictarum et Dobrodiçam ac Alexium>
salubriter providere, absolventes se prius super infrascriptis ad balloto-
las albas nigras, quarum reperte fuerunt albe decemnovem et una sola
nigra; deliberaverunt, quod per ipsos dominum. . . dominos Consilium
Antianorum, officium guerre et iiii^{or} officiales supradictis provisionibus   20
constitutos elligantur et elligi debeant tres notabiles, prudentes et lega-
les Cives Janue, qui unaa [*sic*] cum nobilibus et prudentibus viris domi-
nis Bartolomeo de Jacopo legumdoctore ellecto in Consulem Caffe et
Laurentio Gentile ellecto in potestatem Peyre mittantur ad partes Ro-
manie et maris maioris cum potestate magna cumque commissionibus   25
ordinibus et tractatibus vis dandis per Ianuam dictos domini . . . domi-
norum Consilium Ancianorum et officium guerre.

Deinde delibaverunt provisionem seu salarium et commitivam dictorum trium Civium elligendorum utsupra in forma inscripta.

30 Videlicet duous domicellos pro quolibet eorum.

Item: duos equos pro quolibet eorum

Item: cum fuerint in Peyra et abinde postea, duos ragatios et unum cochum pro omnibus ipsis tribus elligendis, dicernentes ex nunc quod quamdiu dicti tres elligendi fuerint in eodem loco

35 Insimul et in una domo, debeant habitare, et communiter scotum facere. . . provisionum autem seu salarium taxaverunt

Ad rationem yperporum mlv auri ad signum Peyre. . . .

In anno pro unoquoque ipsorum, et Comitiva seu familia unius cuiusque eorum decernendes insuper ex nunc quod nullus ipsorum // quamdiu

40 perduraverint ipsorum bayliam <ulam> possit facere <seu fieri facere> mercanciam in partibus scilicet Romanie maris maioris dum taxat, pariam providere volentes sic et taliter per predicti elligendi si non zelo Rei publice salute terrore pene materiam aceptandi habeant et eis commisanda exegucioni [sic] mandandi, delibaverunt et decreverunt jamdicti

45 dominus . . . dux, Consilium Antianorum, officium guerre et quatuor officiales supradictis provisionibus constituti, et nullus supradictorum rerum Civium elligendorum utsupra, valeat se excusare, renonciari vel condicere, quis acepiet ellectionem de eo fiendam utsupra et eum effectu exequuntur prout ei <et sociis commove et divisi> fuint traditum in

50 manas pro jamdictis dominos. . . dominorum Cousilium et officium guerre nisi prius debitur et solveretur massariis generalibus Communis Janue nomine pene flori quadrigentos auri.

Ib. 7 March 1382. Later the same day, the Doge, Council, and War Office, now fully assembled, complete the action described in the preceeding text by choosing the three additional agents to accompany the Consul-elect of Caffa and the Podestà-elect of Pera and by confirming them in their powers. (Archivio di Stato di Genova, Archivio Segreto, *Diversorum negociorum Cancellarie Communis Ianue,* 497 [1382], No. 73, ff. 39^v-40.)

Eadem die post prandium

Prefati magnificus dominus dux . . . Consilium Antianorum et officium guerre nunc in plenis numeris congregati necnon dicti prenuncupati iiii^{or} officiales constituti super provisionibus partium Romanie et

5 maris maioris, volentes procedere ad ellectionem trium Civium elligendorum utsupra, Confisi ad plenum de prudencia bonitate et industria trium infrascriptorum, Eosdem ellegerunt, constituerunt, et ordinarunt in syndicos, ambassatores, et provisores Communis Janue in dictis par-

tibus Romanie et maris maioris, seu potestate baylia Commissionibus et
tractatibus et ordinibus vis dandis per jamdictis dominum ducem, Con-   10
silim ancianorum, et officium guerre, et cum Comtiva et provisione de
quibus predictum est nomina quorum sint hec:
Petrus Lercarius
Julianus de Casto et
Antonius de Gavio.   die vii marcii jure etc.   15
Videlicet dictum Petrum repertis ballotolis albis xvii quique ii⁰ / negris,
dictum Julianum de Casto repertis ballotolis albis xvi et una sola nigra,
Et predictum Antonium de Gavio repertis ballotolis omnibus albis nulla
autem nigra.

Commentary

From the troubled time of Doge Niccolò Guarco, an early surviving exam-
ple of the forms of Council procedure as to deliberations, voting and regula-
tion of colonial details. Note the reference to the use of black and white *bal-*
lote or voting-balls.

At the time of these deliberations, the Council is concerned about two sets
of conditions in Romania and the Black Sea area, which serve as general back-
ground rather than as dramatically new developments. These sets of conditions
are described in two successive allusions. The first is to the state of the Byzan-
tine government and its relationship to the Turks. The Council is aware that
"between the lord Emperor Kaloiannes Palaeologus and his sons [have come
about] hatreds, grudges, and discords; and that, because of this, father as
much as sons are rendered subject to the Turk Amorat, and the danger faces
the city of Constantinople that it be subjected to the aforesaid Turk Amorat;
if the which should happen it would result in the greatest damage and harm
for the Commune of Genoa. . . "

This allusion is to the civil strife plaguing Byzantium since 1376 and lead-
ing to its greater exploitation by the Turks. The eldest son of Emperor John
V, Andronikos Palaiologos, who had rebelled against his father in 1373, had
been captured, partially blinded and imprisoned while the next son, Manuel,
was made co-Emperor and heir, and Byzantium was obliged to accept a status
of vassalage to the Turks. In 1376, Andronikos escaped, and was able to win
support for his ambitions from both Murad, eager for more Turkish leverage,
and the Genoese. Winning entry into the city that summer, the rebel assumed
the throne as Andronikos IV, in his turn imprisoning his father, together with
Manuel and another brother, Theodore. As repayment to Genoa for its sup-
port, Andronikos involved himself on its side in the Chioggia War against Ve-
nice, and also ceded to Genoa the island of Tenedos which his father had pro-
mised Venice. Venice actually seized the island, and inflicted some damage on
Andronikos's capital, while the usurper found his reign increasingly insecure.
In 1379, John V and his two sons escaped with Venetian support and made

their own bid for Turkish backing from the adroit Murad. They reclaimed
Constantinople and drove Andronikos to refuge in Pera (Galata), which they
beseiged or attacked intermittantly from summer 1379 to spring 1381. In
May of 1381 a truce was arranged and a family settlement was achieved, by
which Andronikos was recognized again as heir, to the exclusion of Manuel,
and was granted a separate territory of his own along the European shore of
the Sea of Marmora. Even this did not reconcile him completely, and later
quarrels with his father were to develop. Broader resolution of the strife came
in the Treaty of Turin, negotiated by Amadeo VI of Savoy, and signed on
23 August 1381, by which the Chioggia War was ended and Tenedos was neu-
tralized while John V and Genoa were to resolve their own disputes in a trea-
ty between them signed later in 1382, on 2 November. By that time, the dis-
affected Manuel had struck out on his own, setting himself up semi-indepen-
dently in Thessaloniki, and leaving his father that much more perilously de-
pendent upon the good will of the growingly powerful Murad.[4]

Given such upheavals, it is understandable that the Doge and the Council
would be concerned about their interests. It would be barely two months lat-
ter, on 30 April 1382, that the Doge would authorize Lorenzo Gentile, the
new Podestà of Pera mentioned in our text, together with two other ambassa-
dores, to carry out the negotiations that would result in the treaty of 2 No-
vember, intended to give Genoese backing to the pacification of May, 1381.[5]

The second allusion to current difficult conditions follows immediately. In
voting their decisions, the Council is described as: "wishing to make advanta-
geous provision, as much in these respects [the Byzantine situation just men-
tioned] as for the circumstances of the wars current between the Commune's
places in the aforementioned regions [Romania and the Black Sea] and Dob-
rotiça·and Alexius. . . . " This is apparently a general reference to hostility of
the separatist Bulgarian Despot Dobrotitsa or Dobrotič, ruler of (and name-
giver to) the Dobrudja. An ambitious prince, Dobrotitsa challenged Genoese
interests in the Black Sea sphere repeatedly from the early 1370s until his
death in 1385. He built himself a fleet with which he made himself a formid-
able force. Early in his exertions, he acquired a matrimonial tie with the By-
zantine imperial house by marrying a daughter to Michael Palaiologos, third
son of John V. On behalf of this son-in-law, Dobrotitsa launched one of his
most audacious moves, sending his fleet in 1375-76 to back the claims of Mi-

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4. For details, sources, and literature on this episode, see: G. T. Dennis, *the Reign of
Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta. 159
(Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1960), pp. 37-47; J. W. Barker, *Manuel
II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, Rutgers Byzan-
tine Series (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 24-45.
5. The authorization was recorded in the opening of the 2 November treaty text:
L. T. Belgrano, "Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera," *Atti della So-
cietà Ligure di Storia Patria*, 13 (1877-84), 97-336: No. 26, pp. 133-34. *Cf.* Dennis, pp.
50-51.

chael as Emperor of Trebizond, in opposition to the rightful ruler there, Alexios III Komnenos. He also made attacks on Genoese holdings in the Crimea in 1375 and in 1384.[6] The reference to Alexios III of Trebizond in connection with Dobrotitsa in 1382 is probably not with regard to any conflicts between them. It simply refers to a parallelism of troubles in the Black Sea sphere; Alexios having to oppose, in his own right, the menace to him represented by Genoese preponderence in this sphere and its pressures on his government.

This pair of texts represents, obviously, two segments of the same transaction. Their recording in the bound volume 497 of the *Diversorum negociorum* hints at something of the confusion or casualness with which the Genoese state documents were assembled for preservation. Our text Ia was begun at the top of f. 38^V and carried to the bottom of the page. The scribe was unable to continue its remainder, as he might normally do, on to the *recto* of the next sheet, for that was apparently already being used (for at least some if not all of the entries now marked as Nos. 70-72). He found, however, that the *verso* of that next sheet was free: accordingly, he broke off his text at the bottom of f. 38^V, made a symbol of insertion followed by the words "volve cartam sequentem," and then resumed his text at the top of f. 39^V. That text completed, he went on to the second and succeeding one, our Ib, running it to the bottom of f. 39^V and completing it normally at the top of f. 40^r. The modern marginal enumerator of the entries therefore gave our text Ia the numer 69 in due course, gave the texts on f. 39^r the next three numbers, recognized that the text at the top of f. 39^V was a continuation of 69, and gave it no new number, but gave our text Ib the number 73 to keep the strict numerical sequence. Hence the numerical gap between our two texts, actually meant to be sequential in the face of jumbled scribal practices.

6. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge* (Leipzig: O. Harassowitz 1923), I. 531-32; W.N. Slatarski [Zlatarski], *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, (Leipzig I. Parlapanoff: 1918), I, 177; D.M. Lang, *The Bulgarians from Pagan Times to the Ottoman Conquest* (London, 1976), p. 91. On the episode of Michael Palaiologos and Trebizond, see also the Venetian Senate's deliberation of 12 March 1376, in which they considered his older brother, Andronikos, as a viable alternative to Michael: F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie, I. 1329-1399* (Paris: Mouton, 1958), no. 576, pp. 143-44; also, A. Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259-1453* (München, 1938), p. 57, no. 87.

IIa. 31 August 1396: Instrument of instructions, granted by Doge An-
toniotto Adorno and the Council, to Luchino de Bonavey, newly elec-
ted Podestà of Pera, with Pietro Ultramarino and Raffaelo Carpeneto,
confirming them in their colonial functions and authorizing them, with
full powers as ambassadors, to negotiate pacts in the name of Genoa.
(Archivio di Stato di Genova, Archivio Segreto, *Instructiones et Relaci-
ones*, 2707A: No. 1 ["Ex foliatio Antonii de Credentia ab anno 1392
usque in 1398"][7]

<div align="center">Syndicatus . . . potestatis peyre et Massariorum</div>

In eterni dei nomine Amen. Illustris et magnificus dominus, dominus
Antoniotus Adurnus dei gratia Januensis dux et populi defensor, et su-
um venerandum consilium dominorum decemocto sapientium Antiano-
5   rum, in sufficienti et legittimo numero congregatorum. Et illorum qui
interfuerunt nomina sunt hec:
Bartolomeus Pindeben notarious prior
Dominicus de Prementorio,
Laurentius Gentilis,
10   Gregorius Lercarius,
Lanfrancus Calvus,
Lazarus Spinula,
Leonardus de Auria,
Antonius Cataneus Jacobus,
15   Nicola de Lagostena,
Johannes de Frenante,
Paulus Grillus,
Lazarinus Campanarius,
Batista de Rapallo et
20   Dominicus Robellus.
Confisi de circumspecta prudentia et discretione egregiorum virorum
Lucini de Bonavey electi potestatis Peyre, domini Petri Ultramarini Le-
gumdoctoris et Raffaelis Carpeneti civium Janue, omni via, Jure, modo
et forma quibus melius potuerunt. Agentes nomine et vice communis
25   Janue, et pro ipso communi, fecerunt, creaverunt, constituerunt, elege-
runt et nominaverunt, et faciunt, constituunt, creant et ordinant eo-
rum dicto nomine, et dicti communis Janue, ac subdictorum et distric-

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7. Noted and briefly summarized by Belgrano, "Prima serie," p. 175, No. 39. Notices
by the Archivio's early cataloguer describe this document as follows: "Procura degli am-
bassatori per trattare la pace [e la concordia] con i Turchi"; though no reference is in
fact made to the Turks as specific adressees of negotiation. All insertions indicated in the
transcription with <> are in a writing different from that of the main script as well as
from that of the notarial ending, reminding the reader how many hands worked over
these documents.

tualium eiusdem, certos, veros, legittimos et indubitatos Syndicos, acto-
res, factores, ambassatores, procuratores, commissarios et nuncios speci-
ales, et prout melius fieri et esse potuerunt et possunt loco ipsorum   30
constituentium dicto nomine et dicti communis Janue posuerunt et po-
nunt, dictos Luchinum, dominum Petrum et Raffaelem licet absentes
tamquam presentes, et duos ex eis insolidum, ita quod non sit melior
conditio occupantium, sed quod omnes tres inceperint duo ex eis me-
diare possint prosequi et finire, dicto eundum / et se personaliter trans-   35
ferendum ad partes Imperii Romani et maris maioris.

Ad providendum, tractandum, gubernandum, administrandum, dis-
ponendum, ordinandum et exequendum in dictis partibus omnia et sin-
gula que pro communi Janue in terris et locis dictorum. Constituentium
dicto nomine, seu dicti communis Janue, in partibus supradictis et qua-   40
libet earum tractanda, providenda, disponenda, ordinanda vel exequenda
occurrerint, et que eisdem . . . ambassatoribus, syndicis et procuratori-
bus constitutis vel duobus ex eis insolidum, fienda, tractanda, vel ordi-
nanda videbuntur et placuerent pro bono, utilitate vel favore commu-
nis Janue, et nominis Januensis, et pro defensione tutela et salute dic-   45
tarum terrarum seu locorum dicti Communis, in partibus predictis, et
cuiuslibet earum, ac habitatorem seu incolarum earum, et cuiuslibet ip-
sarum, secundum quod casus et condiciones occurrentis exegerint, et
faciendum videbitur . . . Syndicis et procuratoribus supradictis vel duo-
bus ex eis, etiam insuper seu contra quoscumque officiales dicti com-   50
munis, super in seu contra quos eisdem. . . Syndicis videbitur.

Et ad tractandum, componendum, faciendum et firmandum bonam,
veram, firmam, validam et cordialem pacem <et pactes> et concordiam
<et concordias> aliasque quoscumque [compos]itiones, conventones,
treugas, ligas et pacta quelibet, nomine et pro parte dictorum consti-   55
tuentium dicto nomine, et dicti communis Janue. Cum omnibus et sing-
ulis dominus, communitatibus, corporibus, collegiis et universitatibus
vel aliis eorum nomine cum quibus eisdem . . . syndicis, <Ambaxatori-
ubs,> et procuratoribus, vel duobus ex eis insolidum fienda seu fiende
videbuntur et placebuntur. Et ad substituendum unum ex ipsis tribus,   60
syndicum et procuratorem ad omnia et singula supradicta cum prefata
baylia et potestate eis omnibus utsupra concessa. <eis nichilominus dic-
tam potestatem salva manente.>

Et ad instrumentum et instrumenta de et super predictis omnibus et
singulis, unum et plura cum illis omnibus et singulis confessionibus, rep-   65
resentiacionibus, promisionibus, obligationibus, penis, Juramentis, ypo-
thecis, clausulis et cautelis neccessariis et opportunis, seu que eisdem. . .
Syndicis et Ambassatoribus vel duobus ex eis substituendo ab eis vide-
buntur vel placuerint, tandem consuetudinem quod de Jure, faciendum
et fieri seu confici faciendum. /   70

Et demum generaliter ad omnia et singula facienda, disponenda, trac-
tanda, administranda et exequenda in predicitis omnibus et singulis, et
in dependentibus, appendiciis, accessoriis, annexis et conexis predictis et
a predictis, et cuilibet et a quolibet predictorum, que neccessaria vel uti-
75   lia videbuntur, seu placebunt dictis . . . ambassatoribus, Syndicis et pro-
curatoribus, vel duobus ex eis insolidum seu substituendo ab eis ut pre-
fertur. Et que per quoscumque veros, legittimos et indubitatos procu-
ratores seu syndicos plena potestate suffultos fieri possent, etiam si talia
forent que mandatum exigerent speciale.
80   Et etiam que per ipsosmet constituentes dicto nomine fieri possent
si personaliter interessent.
Dantes et concedentes eisdem Luchino, domino Petro, et Raffaeli
sindicis, ambassatoribus et procuratoribus supradictis et duobus ex eis
insolidum, dictoque substituendo utsupra, plenam et liberam potesta-
85   tem et bayliam tractandi, ordinandi, providendi, gubernandi, adminis-
trandi, disponendi, exequendi et faciendi predicta omnia et singula et
quodlibet predictorum, ac plenum et generale mandatum, cum plena,
libera et generali administratione.
Promittentur Ipsi Magnificus dominus. . . Dux et Consilim dicto no-
90   mine michi notario et cancellario infrascripto, tamquam publice perso-
ne officio publicos stipulanti et recipienti nomine et vice onmium et
singulorum quorum interest, intererit vel interesse poterit in futurum,
habere perpetuo et tenere rata, grata, et firma attendere et observare
quecumque per ipsos Syndicos et procuratores utsupra vel duos ex eis
95   insolidum seu per substituendum per eis in predictis omnibus et singulis
acta, gesta, tractata, ordinata, firmata, provisa, promissa, administrata
vel procurata fuerint. Sub ypotheca et obbligatione bonorum omnium
dictorum constituentium, dicto nomine seu dicti communis Janue pre-
sentium et futurorum.
100   Et duret presens mandatum et baylia usque ad annum unum proxi-
mum venturum tantum. /
De quibus omnibus prefati magnificus dominus . . . Dux et Consili-
um mandaverunt et rogaverunt confici debere publicum instrumentum
per me iamdictum notarium et ipsorum ac dicti communis cancellarium
105   infrascriptum.

Actum Janue in palacio ducali; videlicet in camera cubiculari prefati
Magnifici domini . . . ducis juxta turrim, Anno dominice nativitatis
M⁰ccc⁰lxxxxvii⁰; Indicione iiiᵃ secundum cursum Janue; die jovis ul-
tima mensis Augusti; paulo post vesperas presentibus testibus ad pre-
110   dicta vocatis specialiter et rogatis: Enrico de Camilla, Johanne de Fran-
chis olim Tortorino, Anthonio de Mari, et Clemente de Prementorio, Ci-
vibus Janue: ac Conrado Mazurro notario [supra]dicti communis Janue
cancellario.

IIb. 18 April 1397. Instrument of instructions, granted by Valéran de
Luxembourg, Comte de Ligny et Saint-Pol, French Royal Governor, and
the Council, to Luchino de Bonavey, Podestà of Pera, and to admiral
Lorenzo Gentile, with Marzocco Cigala and Giovanni Sauli, commission-
ing them to negotiate, in the name of Genoa, holding full powers as am-
bassadors, with the Turkish Grand Emir Bayazid Çelebi. (Archivio di
Stato di Genova, Archivio Segreto, *Instructiones et Relaciones,* 2707A:
No. 4 ["Ex foliatio Antonii de Credentia ab anno 1392 usque ad 1398"])[8]

   Syndicatus . . . Capitanei gallearum et Ambaxatorum Romanie
In eterna dei nomine Amen. Illustris et Magnificus dominus dominus
Valerandus de Luceburgo Comes Liney et Sancti Pauli, ac Regius lo-
cumtenens in partibus citramontainis et Gubernator Januensium ac com-
munis et populi defensor, et suum venerandum consilium dominorum   5
sapientium Antianorum in sufficienti et legiptimo numero congregato-
rum, et illorum qui interfuerunt nomina sit hec:
dominus Lucianus Spinula prior
dominus Anthonius Justinianus miles.
Raffus Lecavellum   10
Anthonius de Lacastanea
Janinus de Serra de Pulcifera
Abraynus Pillavicinus
Johannes Usumaris Petri
Dominicus Bosonus de Struppa   15
Jacobus de Salvo lanerius
Cataneus Cigalla   ·
Inoflius de Sollario de Cogoleto
et Petrus de Vivaldis.
   Ac etiam officium octo prudentium constitutorum super provisione   20
partium Romanie in pleno et integro ac totali numero congregatum. et
quorum officialium nomina sint hec:
Cosmas Tarigus prior
Gregorius Donatus
Morrvel Cigala   25
Guillelmus Centurionus Bestagnius

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8. Noted and briefly summarized by Belgrano, p. 175, No. 40; *cf.* C. Manfroni, "Le
relazioni fra Genova, l'impero bizantino e i Turchi," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia
Patria,* 28 (1898), 577-858: 723. Since this text is duplicated all but exactly by the next
two, insertions are not noted here by the symbols < > past the point of duplication (be-
tween "Ellegerunt. . . ," line 40, and ". . . infrascriptum," line 119. On the other hand,
minor variants in wording or spelling between the three duplicated sections are noted by
[/], while more serious ones are cited in the following notes.

Badasal de Pineto notarius
Clemens de Facio. /
Anthonius de Marinis et
30   Raffael de Vivaldis
      Agentes nomine et vice Communis Janue et pro ipso communi.
Omni via, jure, modo et forma quibus melius poterunt et possunt.
      Confisi plenarie de circumspecta prudentia nobilum et prudentum vi-
rorum Luchinum de Bonavey potestatis Peyre, Laurentii Gentilis Capi-
35   tanei Maritimi, et Marzochi Cigale ac Johannes [sic] Sauli Massiorum et
dilectorum nostrorum.
      Ipsos Luchinum de Bonavey potestatum, Laurentium Gentile Capi-
tanem, Marzochum et Johannem Massarios <et tres eorum insolidum,
ut in[fra] destribitur.>·
40   Ellegerunt, constituerunt, creaverunt et ordinaverunt et elligunt,
constituunt et ordinant ipsorum constituentum dicto nomine et dicti
Communis Janue, certos, veros, legiptimos et indubitatos actores, fac-
tores, syndicos, ambaxatores, procuratores et nuncios speciales, et
quicquid et prout melius de jure fieri et esse possunt, loco ipsorum con-
45   stituentum dicto nomine et dicti communis Janue posuerunt et ponunt.
Ad se personaliter transferendum ad partes Romanie et Turchie ac eti-
am maris maioris, et ad presentiam cuicumque et quorumcumque do-
minorum seu presidentum in partibus predictis in qualibet eorum. Et
ad tractandum, inhiendum, firmandum et concludendum quascumque
50   conventiones, compositiones, paces et concordias, cum Illustrissimo et
potentissimo domino domino Baysita Jhalaby Magno Amirato Amira-
torum Turchie, et cum quibuscumque eius auditoribus consiliariis
vel commissariis per eum ad hoc constitutis vel constituendis, seu
cum quavis persona vel personis legiptimis per eo. Cum seu sub illis
55   modis, formis, partis et condicionibus, remissionibus, absolucioni-
bus, stipulationibus, clausilis et cautellis, cum seu sub quibus dictis
sydicis, ambaxatoribus vel procuratoribus seu tribus ex eis, vel eti-
am doubus insolidum absente domino Laurentio capitaneo gallearum,
videbitur et placuint faciendum. Et ex adverso ad indicendum et facien-
60   dum seu fieri faciendum et ordinandum vinam guerram et lesiones ac
offensas reales et personales contra dictum Illustrissimum dominum
Baysitam Amiratum Turchie cuisque terras et subdictos et quoscumque
sibi faventes, secundum quod et prout dictis syndicis, ambaxatoribus et
procuratoribus, seu tribus ex eis, aut etiam duobus ex unius tribus pre-
65   sentibus in casu absentie dicti capitanei videbitur et placitur. Item ad
providendum, ordinandum, disponendum et explicandum pro bono re-
gimine, et pro pacifica tranquilitate, vel ex adverso secura tutella locor-
um Communis Ianue et cuiuslibet eorum in partibus predictis [quidquid/
quicquid] , et prout tam [circuli/circa] allemacionem et extenuationem

expensarum seu sumptum dictorum locorum quo [circuli/circa] augmen-   70
tacionem earum si casus exegerint vel necessarium seu opportunum
[cognoverint/fuint],[9] supradictis syndicis vel tribus ex eis insolidum,
sive etiam duobus ex ipsis tribus presentibus absente capitaneo predicto
videbitur et placuitur. Necnon ad investigandum, perscriptandum et
perquirendum de seu super [malle/male] gestis, vel illicite seu indebite   75
commissis, per quoscumque rectores vel officiales pro dicto communi
Janue constitutis in locis vel partibus supradictis et quolibet eorum. Et
ad ipsos rectores et officiales de seu predictis condempnandi [seu]
syndicandi et multandi iuxta qualitatem [malle/male] gestorum pro eos
vel illicite et indebite commissorum.   80

Et demum generaliter ad omnia et singula gerendum, faciendum et
exequendum, in predictis omnibus et singulis et in dependentibus, e-
mergentibus, accessoriis, annexis et connexis predictis et a predictis, et
cuilibet et a quolibet predictorum, que necessaria fuerint vel utilia seu
etiam op[p]ortuna, vel ipsis syndicis et procuratoribus vel tribus ex eis,   85
seu etiam duobus ex ipsis tribus presentibus, in absentia dicti Capitanei
utsupra utilia, necessaria vel op[p]ortuna viderentur, queque per quos-
cumque veros, legitimos, et indubitatos syndicos, actores et procurato-
res plena potestate sufultos fieri possent, etiam si talia forent que man-
datum exigant speciale. Et que ipsimet constituentes dicto nomine face-   90
re possent, si personaliter interessent.

Dantes et concedentes dicto nomine prefatis eorum syndicis, am-
baxatoribus, et procuratoribus, et tribus eorum insolidum ac etiam duo-
bus ex ipsis tribus presentibus, in casu absentie dicti Capitanei ut prefer-
tur, in predictis omnibus et singulis, et in dependentibus, accessoriis, an-   95
nexis, et connexis predictis et a [predictis/predictorum] et cuilibet et a
quolibet predictorum, plenum, largum, liberum, et generale mandatum,
cum plena, larga, libera, et generali administratione.

Promittentes nostri notario et communis Janue cancellario infra-
scripto, tamque publice persone officio publico scripta et recipienti novem   100
et vice cuius et quorum interest, intererit vel interesse poterit in futu-
rum, sese dicto nomine proprio habituros, dictumque commune proprio
habiturum, ratum, gratum et firmum, quicquid et quantum per dictos
eorum dicto nomine seu dicti communis syndicos, actores, ambaxatores
seu procuratores, vel per tres eorum concordes, seu etiam per duos ex,   105
ipsis tribus presentibus, et absente dicto Capitaneo Gallearum in predic-
tis et circa predicta, actum, gestum, factum, tractatum, pactum, con-
ventum, promissum, obligatum, vel dispositum fuerit, seu etiam procura-
tum. Sub ypotecha et obligacione omnium bonorum ipsorum constitu-

9. The word "cognoverint" is corrected to "fuint" in the text of 26 October 1397.

110 encium dicto nomine, seu dicti communis Ianue presencium et futuro-
rum, [illorum videlicet que per capitula dicti communis non fuerit pro-
hibitia obligari].[10]
Quamquidem bayliam et procuratorium supradictum volverunt et
mandaverunt durare et valere debere usque ad annum unum proximum
115 venturum tantum.
Et de predictis omnibus mandaverunt et requisiverunt confici debere
publicum Instrumentum per [me][11] infradictum Antonium de Creden-
cia notarium, et ipsorum constituentium ac dicti communis Ianue can-
cellarium infrascriptum.

120 Actum Janue in palacio Communis, videlicet in camera cubiculari
prefati Illustris dominum . . . Regii Gubernatoris iuxta turrim, Anno do-
minice nativitatis MccclxxxxVii[o] Indictione iii[ta], secundum [cur]sum
Ianue, die Mercurii xviii[a] mensis Aprilis cursibus et post Avemaria, pre-
sentibus egregio legumdoctore domino Magistro Petro Beanbbe secre-
125 tario Regio, et Cristoforo de Cruce bancherio, ac Jacobo de Monelia no-
tario Civibus Ianue, necnon Nicolao Lochardi Magistro hospicii prefati
Illustris domini Gubernatoris, testibus ad predictam vocatis specialiter
et rogatis.

IIc. 26 October 1397: Instrument of instructions, granted by Bourleux
de Luxembourg, deputy to the French Royal Governor, Valéran de Lux-
embourg, and the Council, to Gentile Grimaldi, newly elected Podestà
of Pera, and to admiral Lorenzo Gentile, with Marzocco Cigala and Gio-
vanni Sauli, renewing the previous commission to negotiate, in the name
of Genoa and holding full powers as ambassadors, with the Turkish
Grand Emir Bayazid Çelebi. (Archivio di Stato di Genova, Archivio Se-
greto, *Instructiones et Relaciones,* 2707A: No. 6 ["Ex foliatio Antonii
de Credentia ab anno 1392 usque ad 1398"])[12]

Syndicatus officialium Romanie
In nomine eterni dei Amen. Spectabilis et egregius miles domino
Bourleus de Luceburgo, locum tenens Illustris et magnifici domini do-
mini Valerandi de Luceburgo Comitis Liney et Sancti Pauli, ac Regii
5 Gubernatoris Januensium, et cives et populi defensores.
In presentia consilio voluntate et consensu venerandi consilii domino-

_____

10. The phrase "illorum. . . obligari" is crossed out in the text of 22 May 1398.
11. The word "me" is missing in the text of 26 October 1397.
12. Noted and briefly summarized by Belgrano, p. 175, no. 41; *cf.* Manfroni, p. 724.

rum sexdecim Antianorum Civitatis Janue, <ac inscriptorum de off-
[icio] <octo> [provisionis Romanie]>. Et dictum Consilium et Consi-
liarii ipsius consilii <ac dicti de dicto officio Romanie> in presentia
auctoritate et decreto dicti Egregii dicti locum . . . tenentis. In quo con- 10
silio interfuit legiptimus et sufficiens numerus ipsorum Antianorum, et
Illorum qui interfuerunt nomina sunt hec:
dominus Accelinus [Gr]illus prior
dominus Nicolaus de Zoalio
Lodisius Gentilis 15
Carolus Marocellus
Petrus Justinianus de Ollivero
Golestanus Pinellus
Nicolaus de Marco
Johannes de Cerro remolarius 20
Johannes de Dyano de Sturla
Ugolinus de Auria
Anthonius de Perea de Pulcifera et
Anthonius de Multedo notarius.
    Et nomina illorum de dicto officio octo provisionis Romanie qui 25
interfuerunt sunt hec:
Gregorius Donatus
Guilelmus Centurionis Bestagnus /
Clemens de Facio et   qui iiii^{or} representant
Anthonius de Marinis.   totum dictum officium. 30
    Absentibus reliquis quatour a Civitate Janue et districtu, vigentis
nunc epidemie metu.
    Agentes nomine et vice Communis Janue, et pro ipso Communi,
omnia via, jure, modo et forma quibus melius potuerunt et possint.
Confisi plenarie de circumspecta prudentia nobilium et descretorum vi- 35
rorum: Gentilis de Grimaldis ellecti et ituri potestatis Peyre, Laurentii
<de> Gentilibus Capitanei gallearum, et Marzochi Cigalle ac Johannes
Sauli, Massiorum in partibus orientalibus dilectorum Civium nostrorum.
Ipsos Gentilem de Grimaldis, Laurentium de Gentilibus, Marzochum Ci-
gallam et Johannem Sauli <et tres eorum insolidum, ac etiam duos ut 40
infra destribitur.> Ellegerunt [. . . text reproducing that of previous do-
cument, with substitution of the name of Gentile Grimaldi for that of
Luchino de Bonavey . . .] infrascriptum.

    Actum Janue in Palacio Communis Janue quo habitat dictus Egregi-
us dominus locum tenens, videlicet in Salla terracie dicti palacii que est 45
iuxta capellam, Anno dominice nativitatis M^{o}ccc^{o}lxxxxVii^o, Indicione
quinta secundum cursum Janue die veneris xxvi, mensis octobris hora
<ante> xviiii^{am}, presentibus testibus ad hec vocatis specialiter et ro-

gatis: scientiffico legumdoctore d. Bartholomeo de Scardabonibus de
50   Viterbio vicario dicti Illustris . . . Gubernatoris, et Aldebrando de Cora
notario et cancellario Communis Janue.

IId.   22 May 1398: Instrument of instructions, granted by Pierre Fres-
nel, Bishop of Meaux and French Royal Commissioner, by Bourleux de
Luxembourg, deputy for the French Royal Governor, Valéran de Lux-
embourg, and by the Council, to Gentile Grimaldi, Podestà of Pera, and
to admiral Georgio Gramelli, with Marzocco Cigala and Giovanni Sauli,
renewing the previous commissions to negoitate, in the name of Genoa
and holding full powers as ambassadors, with the Turkish Grand Emir
Bayazid Çelebi. (Archivio di Stato di Genova, *Diversorum Communis
Ianue*, 1 [=3021], m.9 [1398]: No. 176 ["Ex foliatio Antonii de Cre-
dentia ab anno 1391 usque ad 1398"])[13]

Syndicatus officialium Romanie
In nomine domini Amen. Reverendissimus prout et dominus domi-
num pater episcopus Meldensis Regius Consiliarius et comisarius [*sic*]:
Spectabilis miles dominus Bourleus de Luceburgo locum tenens Illustris
5   et Magnifici domini domini . . . Regii Gubernatoris Januensium et com-
munis et populi defensoris. In presentia consilio voluntate et consensu
sui <venerandi consilii dominorum xvi Antianorum Civitatis Janue, et
dictum Consilium et consiliarii ipsius Consilii in presentia acutoritate et
decreto dominorum Reverendissimi domini episcopi <et> *spectabilis*
10   domini locum . . . tenentis. In quo consilio interfuit legiptimus et suf-
ficiens numerus ipsorum Antianorum   et illorum qui interfuerent> no-
mina fuit hec:
dominus Lucianus Palavicinus prior
dominus Enricus de Illionibus legumdoctor
15   Babilanus Cataneus
Benedictus de Monelia Michaelis
Enricus de Camilla
<Andreas Italianus>
Inoflius Picamilius
20   Lucianus Spinula de Luculo
Johannes de Lavania notarius
<Georgius Calvus>

13. *Not* noted in Belgrano. In the Archivio, I found this document missing from its
designated wrapper, but in fact intermingled with No. 173 of this same *Diversorum* col-
lection, a document of 23 May 1398.

Ceprianus de Romayrono de Pulcifera
Benedictus de Flisco Lodisii et
Luchinus Casella de Sexto.   25
Agentes nomine et vice serenissimi domini francorum Regis domini
Janue, et Communis Janue, Omni modo, Jure, via et forma quibus me-
lius potuerunt et possunt. Confisi plenarie, de fidelitate sufficientia et
probitate Circumspectorum et nobilium virorum, Gentilis de Grimal-
dis potestatis Peyre, Georgii Gramelli Capitanei gallearum, Marzochi   30
Cigale et Johannes Sauli Massiorum et provisorum in partibus orientis.
Ipsos Gentilem potestatem, Georgium Capitaneum, Marzochum et Jo-
hannem Massiores et provisiores predictos, licet absentes tanquam pre-
sentes et tres eorum insolidum ac etiam duos ut / infra describitur. El-
legerunt [. . . text reproducing that of previous two documents, with   35
substitution of the name of Georgio Gramelli for that of Lorenzo
Gentile . . .] infrascriptum.

Actum Janue, in palacio communis, videlicet in camera cubiculari
dicti domini . . . episcopi, iuxta turrim, A.D.N. M^{o}ccc[c]^{o}lxxxxviii^o.
Indictione quinta secundum cursum Ianue, die mercurii xxii^a Maii in   40
terciis, presentibus testibus ad hec vocatis et rogatis Aldebrando de
Cora et Julliano Panizario notaris et communis Janue cancellariis.

Commentary
The foregoing set of texts is interesting for both their form and their histo-
rical associations.
They relate to a pattern of negotiations which apparently were without re-
sults, and therefore have been given little or no attention by modern histori-
ans.[14] But they do reflect Genoese diplomatic concerns that take on mean-
ing as one recalls the context of events. In the summer of 1396, when our
first document was issued, Genoa was a party to the military venture known
as the Crusade of Nicopolis.[15] A coalition of French, Burgundian, and other

14. As indicated in the foregoing notes, Belgrano and Manfroni make reference to on-
ly three of these four texts. The only possible allusion to them I have found otherwise in
the published literature is an altogether backhanded aside by Heyd, II, 265, n. 1 "'Au
rest, pendant ces années la`Venise entama plusieurs fois, *comme Gênes*, des négociations
avec Bajazet; elle [Venise] hésitait entre la paix et la guerre" (italics my own).
15. On the Crusade of Nicopolis in general, see the following: K.M. Setton, *The Pa-*
pacy and the Levant (1204-1571), vol. I: The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Me-
moirs of the American Philosophical Society, 114 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical
Society, 1976), pp. 341 ff.; A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London: Methuen &
Co., Ltd., 1934). For shorter accounts:H.A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman*
Empire (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), esp. pp. 201 ff.; S. Shaw, *History of the Otto-*
man Empire and Modern Turkey, vol. 1: *Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of*
the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976), 33-34;
and H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. N. Itzkowitz
and C. Weber (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973), p. 16.

West European warriors with Central European forces dominated by King Si-
gismund of Hungary, this expedition was supported by naval contingents of
Venice and Genoa. By late August, the force was moving through the Balkans
to invade Turkish-held territory with the goal of destroying Ottoman power
in the peninsula. It is in this setting that the home government issued its in-
structions to the new Podestà of Pera, Luchino de Bonavey, together with his
two associates, Pietro Ultramarino and Raffaelo Carpeneto. Presumably anti-
cipating that there would be changes of some kind in the political make-up
of the Levant in the wake of the Crusade, the government authorized these
agents to deal in general with any appropriate powers or governments—but no
individual ones designated by name—in the Levant and Black Sea areas (Par-
tes Imperii Romani et maris maioris") for the purpose of negotiating approp-
riate pacts and treaties that would serve Genoese interests.

The second text reflects the situation dictated by the events which oc-
curred less than a month after the issuance of our first text. On 25 September
1396, the Crusader army was crushed utterly by the Turkish forces of Sultan
Bayazid at Nicopolis on the Danube. The domination and progress of Turkish
power in the Balkans and the Levant was confirmed and enhanced, and Wes-
tern powers, especially the mercantile states with commercial interests there,
had to come to terms with Bayazid. The immediate reaction in Genoa to this
development is not documented in surviving governmental papers, but is im-
plied in a revised set of instructions for its negotiatiors. These instructions
were not issued until the following spring, on 18 April 1397, but with a suffi-
cient sense of urgency by then to revise the charge to Podestà Luchino de Bo-
navey, before his term of office expired; moreover, three completely new col-
leagues are appointed, to replace Pietro Ultramarino and Raffaelo Carpeneto
of the previous year: the admiral Lorenzo Gentile, plus Marzocco Cigala and
Giovanni Sauli. And their charge is now quite explicit: to negotiate directly
with "Lord Baysita Jhalaby [= Çelebi, Turkish for "Prince"] Magnus Amira-
tus Amiratorum Turchie." That negotiations of this kind had been fruitless,
if they had begun at all, is obvious from the fact that six months later, on 26
October 1397, the diplomatic charge was renewed, presumably to take into
account the fact that there was a new Podestà of Pera, Gentile Grimaldi, re-
placing Luchino de Bonavey; otherwise, the instructions are a duplication of
those preceeding. Seven months later, another renewal of instructions was
made, on 22 May 1398, again, one presumes, because of a change in the nego-
tiating personnel. Grimaldi was still Podestà, but of the three other agents
(who had remained the same in the instructions of 26 October 1397), Loren-
zo Gentile has now been replaced by a new "Capitaneus gallearum," Giorgio
Gramelli; the text of the instructions again duplicating the preceeding ones.

We have no more indications of Genoese interest in negotiating with Baya-
zid. Perhaps the emergence of Tamerlane and his challenge to Bayazid promp-
ted withdrawal into a "wait-and-see" position. In 1399, too, Genoa assisted

Boucicaut's expeditions to aid Constantinople against the Turks.[16] Then came the final confrontation between Tamerlane and Bayazid, culminating in the latter's total defeat and fatal captivity at the Battle of Ancyra (28 July 1402). The next time we hear of Genoa's dealings with the Turks is when it was party to the peace-treaty of February 1403, between Bayazid's son, Suleyman, and various Christian powers.[17] Of course, documents that would reveal other efforts at negotiations between 1398 and 1402 may simply have been lost. But the supposition of a deliberate cessation is further encouraged if we consider Genoa's general political situation during this period.

For, as the headings to each of our documents illustrate, Genoa was undergoing important changes in government during 1396-98. Our first document dates from the very end of the strife-torn incumbency of Doge Antoniotto Adorno (1394-96). To forestall his Genoese factional enemies and to stave off the ambitions of Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan, Adorno negotiated the submission of Genoa to the crown of France. The transfer was arranged during the autumn of 1396, and Adorno was designated interrim governor in the French King's name until the arrival, on 18 March 1397, of the new French governor. This was Valéran de Luxembourg, Comte de Ligny and Saint-Pol, and his title was "Governor of the Genoese and Defender of the Commune and People." With him was his deputy, Pierre Fresnel, Bishop of Meaux, and several other associates who would aid, and later replace him. But the pressures of violent Genoese politics proved too much for him, and, taking advantage of the threat of a plague, he abandonned his office and Genoa by November of the same year. By that autumn, meanwhile, the conduct of government was undertaken by his subordinates, the Bishop of Meaux and another *luogotenente*, Bourleux de Luxembourg. It was the latter who represented the French crown at the time the instructions of 26 October 1397, were issued. From November of 1397 until July of 1398, the Bishop of Meaux became *de facto* governor, though still officially in the name of Saint-Pol. But he was powerless to control the factionalism which was once again plunging the city into civil strife. Discredited in his turn, the Bishop withdrew in July of 1398. In the same month, the French King named Nicholas Colart de Calleville as the new governor, officially replacing Valéran de Luxembourg, and superseding the helpless Bourleux de Luxembourg. Colart de Calleville assumed power in September, 1398, and did what he could until quitting in his turn in January of 1400. Another year and a half of confusion ensued before the arrival of the next French governor, the only forceful personality of the proces-

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16. E. Jarry, *Les Origines de la domination française à Gênes (1392-1402)* (Paris: A. Picard, 1896), pp. 334-35; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 160 ff.

17. See Dennis, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," *Orientalia christiana periodica*, 33 (1967), 72-88; also, Barker, pp. 224-27 and n. 43; Heyd, II, 267-69.

sion, Jean Le Meingre, Marshal Boucicaut, who assumed power on 31 October 1401.[18]

The confusion implicit in this dreary span of upheaval was nothing new to Genoa, and need not have had any effect on the sporadic attention given to overseas diplomacy. Nevertheless, the increased linking of the Genoese government (such as it was) to the crown of France, which was committed to a policy of aiding Byzantium and opposing the Turks, may well have contributed to a falling-off of interest in diplomatic contacts with Bayazid.

These documents are artifacts, then, of a very minor and inconsequential episode in Levantine diplomacy, Genoese or otherwise. But they are good example, in and of themselves, of diplomatic instructions and commissions. Few of these find their way into print, especially from Genoese sources. They are offered, therefore, partly as examples of this type, and as illustrations of the verbiage of such documents. In that connection, it is interesting to be able to have the set of them for comparison. The first of the four differs from the other three, in that it is a commission of very generalized negotiation, but some parallels in verbiage and in forms may be observed. In the case of the other three, since they were merely successive registrations of one and the same diplomatic undertaking, the bulk of their wording could be repeated exactly— allowing for purely incidental variants in spelling or wording. The physical appearance of these texts, at least in the copies preserved in the governmental files, with their shifts in handwriting, from the headings to the main bodies to the notarial rubric at the end, all suggests the passing of these documents from one hand to another at points where the chores of copying replaced the recording of new information. Above all, the heavily formulaic language (rich in forms and turns that the scribes could often assume the reader of their documents would know well on his own) illustrates the complex development of legalistic theory and practice in Genoese diplomatic operation.

The value of these texts as examples of technicalities is in an inverse proportion to their substance. Notably absent from these instructions is what the historian would most like to find. directions or guidelines on actual policy. But these texts are only legal instruments of official authorization. Any explicit instructions are avoided here, to be conveyed in separate, unofficial memoranda, or perhaps orally, or possibly not at all, so as to spare anyone any chance of later embarrassment or liability. For the files, only legalisms of form, not specifics of substance.

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18. Jarry, pp. 352-58, for Boucicaut's arrival; the book as a whole remains our best detailed account for the period 1392-1402. For a more general and more recent account of the French regime in Genoa, T.O. de Negri, *Storia di Genova,* (Milan: A. Martello, 1968), pp. 477-542.

III. 20 July 1397: Jean de Seury, agent of Robert, Duc de Bar [-le-Duc] of the March of [Pons?] and Seigneur de Cassel [?], presents his credentials (of 3 May 1397), which are quoted in full, authorizing him to negotiate in the Duke's name to arrange the redemption of his son, Philippe, from the Turks. Nicholas Colart [de Calleville], in the service of the French Royal Governor of Genoa, [Valéran de Luxembourg,] the Comte de Ligny et Saint-Pol, records his transfer of one hundred gold crowns to Jean, which sum is to be repaid with ten-percent interest, the following September, in Paris. (Archivio di Stato di Genova, *Diversorum Communis Ianue,* 1 [=3021], m. 8 (1397): No.154 ["Ex foliatio Antonii de Credentia ad anno 1392 usque ad 1398"].)

<div align="center">Collardi cum dominum Barrensis</div>

In nomine domini Amen. Nobilis Miles dominus Johannes Seury, pro-
curator et procurator nomine Illustris et Magnifici domini domini Roberti
Ducis Barrensis, Marchionis Pontensis et domini de Casleto, habens ad in-
frascripta et alia plenum et sufficiens mandatum et potestatem a dicto Il- 5
lustri domino. . . duce et patre ipsius patentibus litteris in pergameno muni-
tis sigillo dicti domini. . . ducis cera rubra in cauda duplici, pendenti.
Quarum litterarum tenor talis est:[19]

Universis presentes litteras inspecturis, Robertus Dux Barrensis, Mar-
chio Pontensis et dominus de Casleto, salutem et presentibus dare fidem. 10
Cum nuper intellexerimus tam per litteras, quam relacionem fidedignorum,
carissimum filium nostrum Philippum in conflictu contra Turchos sacre fi-
dei inimicos, ab eisdem fuisse captum et nunc in partibus Romanie a quo-
dam turcho detineri, aut ex post ab aliquibus fidelibus fuisse redemptum.
Hic est quod nos desiderantes toto cordis affectu redemptionem dicti nos- 15
tri filii et confidentes ad plenum de industria sagaci, diligentia et fidelitate
dilecti et fidelis millitis nostri domini Johannis de Seury presentium exibi-
toris, Ipsum ad partes illas et alibi ubi fuerit expediens accedere, personali-
ter destinamus. Votum igitur facimus quod nos dicto nostro milliti dedi-
mus et concessimus, damusque et concedimus per presentes plenariam po- 20
testatem et mandatum speciale invesigandi, querendi, prosequendi, petendi
et obtinendi liberationem seu redemptionem filii nostri antedicti de et a
manibus et jugo predictorum Turcorum aut aliorum infidelium seu alicuius
ipsorum, sive eciam quorumcumque aliorum fidelium vel infidelium, cau-
sam dictorum Turcorum habentium vel habiturorum, de et super redemp- 25
tione et liberatione predictis, tractandi, pacificandi, con/cordandi et com-
ponendi prout eidem videbitur expedire, necnon promittendi nomine nos-

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19. The long letter quoted in the text is in a script strikingly different from that of the passages which preceed and follow it.

tro et pro nobis quascumque et quantascumque pecuniarum se nummorum summas, pro redemptione et deliberatione antedictis, concordatas vel con-
30 cordandas una cum expensis factas et fiendis solvere seu solvi facere illi vel illis quorum intererit, locis et terminis de quibus fuerit concordatum, mutuum seu mutua ocasione premissorum contrahendi et eadem recipiendi a quocumque seu quibuscumque creditore vel creditoribus cuiuscumque status, ordinis vel condicionis existant, fideiussores et hostagia si sit
35 opus dandi et realiter tribuendi. Et de solvendo integraliter quascumque peccuniarum sommas tam pro redemptione et expensis, quam ex mutuo vel aliis debitas, locis et temporibus de quibus fuerit conventum personis et creditoribus supradictis, nos, heredes et successores, villas, castra et oppida, terras et possessiones, ceteraque bona nostra, et heredum et suc-
40 cessorum nostrorum, mobilia et immobilia presentia et futura ubicumque existencia, per solemnem stipulationem obligandi et ypothecandi, que omnia ex nunc prout ex tunc et ex tunc prout ex nunc, tenore presentium obligacionis afficimus et ypothecionis jurandi in animam nostram quod locis et terminis per dictum nostrum millitem et creditores et exponentes,
45 concordatis, dictas pecuniarum summas, cum omnibus damnis, expensis, interesset, cambio et aliis accessionibus, persolvemus seu persolvi faciemus personis antedictis, et de eisdem sommis satisfaciemus integraliter et ad plenum. Insuper recognoscendi liberaliter in judicio et extra predictum debitum seu debita, et nos submittendi si opus fuerit iurisdictioni cuiusvis
50 judicis ordinarii vel extraordinarii, ecclesiastici vel secularis, in quem ex nunc tamquam in nostrum judicem, consentimus, ut possit super predicto mutuo vel mutuis et compositionibus concordatis nos condemnare, et in nos quamlibet / iurisdictionis speciem exercere et exequi facere, si fuerit oportunum, ulteriusque renunciandi nomine quos supra exceptioni pecu-
55 nie non numerate seu habite, vel in utilitatem dicte redemptionis seu inde secutorum non converse, exceptioni doli, mali, fraudis, condicionis sine causa et indebite et alteri cuicumque exceptioni vel exceptionibus que nos in hoc casu quoquomodo sublevare valerant, et etiam omni privilegio et auxilio, juris canonici et civilis aut aliter quovismodo, et generaliter omnia
60 alia et singula faciendi et exercendi, que circa premissa necessaria fuerint seu etiam quomodolibet oportuna, et que nosmet facere possemus, si ibidem personaliter interessemus, etiam si mandatum exigant specialius quam superius sit expressum. Promittens bona fide et sub ypotecha et obligatione qua supra nos ratum, gratum atque firmum habetur et perpetuo ha-
65 bentur totum et quicquid per dictum nostrum millitem, compositum, tractatum, accordatum, promissum, obligatum, submissum, actum, dictum, gestumve fuerit in premissis et ea tangentibus et quolibet eorumdem, et contra ea non facere vel venire per nos vel alium, clam vel palam, publice vel occulte. Renunciantes quo ad hoc specialiter et expresse, exceptioni-
70 bus, iuribus et aliis auxiliis superscriptis. . . In quorum omnium et singu-

lorum testimonium, presentes litteras nostro magno sigillo fecimus muni-
mine roborari. datum Barri terciam diem Maii anno domini M^{imo}cclxxxx-
vm^{o}ii.

Per dominum meum Ducem,

<div align="center">Quatredens</div> 75

Sponte et ex certa scientia, nullo ductus errore juris vel facti: In presen-
tia mei notarii et testium subscriptorum ad hec specialiter vocatorum et ro-
gatorum. Confessus fuit et in veritate recognovit, Nobili viro Nicolao Luch-
ardo—dicto Collardo, Magistro hospicii Illustri domini. . . Comitis Liney et
Sancti/Pauli, presenti et recipienti, Se dicto procuratorio nomine prefati 80
Illustri domini. . . ducis Barrensis habuisse et recepisse ab ipso Nicolao,
mutuo gratis et amore, Scutos aureos bonos et iusti ponderis ad cuneum
serenissimi domini nostri francorum Regis centum, eidem domino Johanni
dicto nomine solutos in Banco Precivalis de Vivaldis bancherii in Janua.

Respondens dicto nomine, exceptioni dictorum scutorum aureorum si- 85
ve coronarum non habitorum, non receptorum et non numeratorum ex
causa mutui utsupra, presentis confessionis non facere, rei sit ut supra et
infra non geste vel non sic se habentis, doli, mali metus infactum, actioni,
condicioni sive causa vel ex iniusta causa, et omni iuri.

Quos scutos aureos centum sive coronas vel totidem pro ipsis computa- 90
tos eiusdem monete dictus dominus Johannes dicto procuratorio nomine,
promisit et solempniter convenit, eidem Nicolao presenti et stipulanti, dare
et solvere reddere et restituere, vel solvi et restitui facere sibi vel suo certo
nuncio vel procuratori, in Civitate Parisiensi, per totum mensem septem-
bris proxime venturi. 95

Sub penam dupli eius de quo et quanto confieret vel utsupra non ob-
servaretur, cum restitucione dampnorum interesse et expensarum que
propterea fierent litis et extra stipulata solempniter et promisa, Ratis ma-
nentibus supradictis, et provide et ad sic observandum dictus dominus
Johannes dicto nomine pignore obligavit et ypothecavit cuius omnia bona 100
ipsius dicto nomine habita et habenda.

Promisit quod dictus dominus Johannes nomine supradicto, eidem Ni-
colao refficere et restituere omnia dampna et interesse que provide <dic-
tum> Nicolaum pati subire, vel substinere contigerit,

Et de predictis rogavit et requisivit dictis dominus Johannes dicto nom- 105
ine, me dictum notarium et Communis Janue cancellarium infrascriptum
ut inde conficere debeam presens publicum instrumentum./

Actum Janue in cancellaria palacii communis in quo habitat Illus-
tris dominus . . . Regius gubernator Januensis, Anno domini nativita-
tis mccclxxxxvii^o, indictione iiii^a, secundum cursum Janue, die xx^a, 110
mense Iulii, in terciis, presentibus testibus ad hec vocatis specialiter
et rogatis: Lanfranco de Carmadino quondam Symonis, Georgio de

Jugo, civibus Janue, ac Nicolao de <Anadacio [?] de> Camulio filio
Prosperi, et Johanne de Sancto Vicentio cum Antonio, scriptoribus
115   in dictum cancellaria Communis Janue.

Commentary

The foregoing text is a tiny addition to the surviving documentation of
the aftermath of the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396, as well as being testimony to
the confusion that prevailed during much of that aftermath.

Among the French nobles who flocked to join the Crusade that ended at
Nicopolis were two brothers, sons of Duke Robert de Bar, Henri and Philippe.
Prominent together in the leadership of the Crusade, their fates diverged at
the battle: Philippe was killed, while Henri was among those spared by Baya-
zid during the massacre which followed and held for ransom. Out of the long
process of arranging the ransom of the survivers, Henri won his freedom, only
to perish on his way home, in Venice, of the plague, in November, 1397, five
months after his release.[20]

In the months that followed the battle, there was much confusion as to
the exact fate of specific nobles who fought in it. Our text throws light on
the degree of confusion that existed in the case of Philippe de Bar, to an ex-
tent not previously noted.

During December of 1396 a storm of activity was initiated to find out the
fate of the combattants. One of several communications we have surviving in
the Archives of Venice, among a series of inquiries and requests for help made
of the Venetian government, is a letter of 23 December 1396, from Duke Ro-
bert de Bar, in which he indicates the state of his knowledge by then:[21] "By
reliable reports, written or otherwise, we have recently learned that our son
Henry has, so please the Most High, been captured by the Turks in a certain
battle or war against those enemies of the Christian Faith, and has been de-
tained in the fortress of Vidin, but as regards Philippe, our other son, there
have been no sure reports."[22] The letter goes on to beg the Venetians to relay
any news they obtain regarding both of his sons, and to provide any possible
assistance in the redemption of Henri himself.

More certain news as to what happened was brought to the court within
two days after that letter was written by one of the released captives sent as

20. For the ransoming negotiations in general, Setton, pp. 359-68, and Atiya, pp. 100-
12; on the death of Henri, Setton, pp. 361 and 365; Atiya, pp. 108, 197, and n. 69.

21. Text in L. de Mas Latrie, ed., *Commerce et expéditions militaires de la France et
de Venise au moyen âge*, Collections des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Mé-
langes historiques, Choix de documents, vol. III (Paris, 1880), pp. 167-68. *Cf.* Setton,
pp. 359; Atiya, p. 100.

22. "Tam per scripta fide dignorum quam alia, nuper intelleximus filium nostrum
Henricum, in quodam conflictu seu bello contra inimicos fidei christiane, sicut Altissimo
placuit, a Turcis fuisse captum et in castro de Bidin detineri, sed de Phylippo, cetero fi-
lio nostro, non habebantur certa nova."

emissary, Jacques de Helly.[23] On that foundation, the ransomming was negotiated the following spring and its terms were embodied in an agreement signed with Bayazid (Henri de Bar being one of the Crusader signatories) on 24 June 1397. Yet, barely a few weeks earlier, as late as 3 May, we have Duke Robert still pursuing efforts to ransom his other son, Philippe. There seems no reason to doubt that it is Philippe who is the subject of Jean de Seury's mission in July: Henri was already being ransomed by the negotiations in progress that spring, and had no need of this new and specific effort. Philippe's name is clearly given, and there is hardly any reason to think that it is some kind of error for Henri's name; the more so in that Seury was dealing in Genoa with other Frenchmen who would themselves know the difference between the two brothers Bar.[24] We are left to conclude that Robert de Bar thought he had some reason to believe that his other son, Philippe, was also alive and held in Turkish captivity—and in such a way as not to be covered by the ransom negotiations that had culminated on 24 June. Perhaps the reason was merely a father's desperate hope; but then, there seem to be few explicit details about Philippe's death at Nicopolis, and though this fact is generally understood now, the matter may have remained vaguely confirmed at the time. At any rate, there is no other reference presently at hand to Seury's mission or its eventual outcome, if any: least of all, any re-appearance of Philippe de Bar.

The reference to Colart de Callaville in this transaction is interesting, in that his activities are documented here in Genoa under the regime of Valéran de Luxembourg as French Governer of the city, an office in which Colart was to replace him in 1399.[25]

23. Setton, p. 359; Atiya, pp. 100-01.

24. Henri de Bar had had a very brief and indirect brush with Genoese affairs himself in the early phases of the Crusade, in May of 1396. By royal instructions, Henri, together with Count Enguerrand de Coucy, was detatched from the Crusader forces for a brief stop at Milan, before rejoining the Crusade. Their mission was to dissuade Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti from intervention in Genoese affairs now that France had assumed government of Genoa. Jarry, 176; Atiya, 52.

25. Jarry, pp. 265, and 315 ff.

IVa. 9 April 1404. The French Royal Governor, Jean Le Meingre Mar-
shal Boucicaut, and the Council, take notice of the fact that one of the
former commissioners for Romania, Dexerino Bustarino, had conveyed
the sum of four hundred *libri* to Brancho Spinola of Pera as a subsidy
for Romania and the Emperor of the Romans (Manuel II Palaiologos);
and that Brancho, having paid three hundred to the Emperor, was or-
dered not to pay the remainder, since the Emperor had come to the
West. The original reason for providing help to Romania having disap-
peared, it is decided that the one hundred and sixty *libri* still in Bran-
cho's hands should be applied instead to the Commune's harbor mainte-
nance; Dexerino is directed to tranfer this money to Carlo Ciconia, the
appropriate official, and thereby he and Brancho are declared freed of
all further legal responsibility for the sum. (Archivio di Stato di Geno-
va, Archivio Segreto, *Diversorum negociorum Cancellarie Communis
Ianue*, 501 [1403-05], No. 133, ff. lxxxv^v-lxxxvi [63^v-64][26]

Mcccciiii^o die viiii^a Aprilis
<Contra Dexerinum Bustarinum quod libre clx operis darsenate>
Illustris et magnificus dominus dominus Johannes Lemaingre dictus
Buciquaut Mare[scallus] Francis, locumtenens etc., et Regius Januen-
5   sis Gubernator. In presentia consilio voluntate et consensu sui venerandi
Consilii dominorum duodecim sapientium Antianorum et dictum Consi-
lium et Consiliarii ipsius Consilii. In presentia auctoritate et decreto dic-
ti Illustri dominus . . . Regii Januensis Gubernatoris. In quo consilio in-
terfuit legiptimus et sufficiens numerus ipsorum Antianorum. Et illo-
10   rum qui interfuerunt nomina sunt hec:
dominus Bernabas de Goano legumdoctor prior   Cataneus de Flisco
Jacobus Spinola de Luculo   Georgius Lomelinus
Golestanus Pinellus   Leonardus Tortorinis de Franchis et
Anthonius Marrussus Raffaelis   Johannes Tyracius de Pulciffera
15   Scientes et plenam noticiam habentes quod alias per Dexerinum Bus-
tarinum tunc unum ex officialibus Romanie de voluntate et commissio-
ne aliorum officialium dicti officii transmisse fuerunt per <viam> Cam-
bii libras cccclx Janorum de peccunia exacta pro subsidio et sufragio Ro-
manie, et partium subdictarum serenissimo domino Imperatori romeo-
20   rum, Branche Spinule, tunc in Peira commoranti, ut ipsas daret et solve-
ret prefato domino Imperatori, per quem Brancham libre ccc tantum, ex
predictis solute fuerunt dicto domino Imperatori, Relique vero libre clx
remanserunt in dictum Brancham, quia per dictum officium Romanie,
priusquam solute fuerint dicto domino Imperatori, scriptum fuit dicto

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26. Following the opening, the body of the text is in another and unusually differ-
ent hand.

Branche, quod dicta peccuniam amplius non solvent, ex eo quia dictus   25
dominus Imperator venturus erat ad Istas partes occidentales. Et:/
    Advertentes quod dicte libre clx restant in dictum Brancham, et
quod cessat causa propter quam mittebantur in subsidium Romanie, vo-
lentes dictam peccuniam in aliud opus pium et necessarium convertere,
et converti facere, decreverunt, statuerunt et deliveraverunt, quod dicte   30
libre clx non solvantur nec dentur Amplius dicto domino Imperatori,
ymo quod convertantur et errogentur in reperacionem operis darsinate
communis Janue, et mandaverunt dicto Dexerino quatenus dictas libras
clx det et solvat massariis generalibus communis Janue pro ipsis dandis
et solvendis Carolo Ciconie et socio massariis et officialibus constitutis   35
super dicto opere dicte darsinate, quibus libris clx solutis utsupra per
dictum Dexerinum, massariis supradictis, ex nunc prout ex tunc, et ex
tunc prout ex nunc, liberaverunt et absolverunt dictum Dexerinum, et
dictum Brancham, a dictis libris clx, ita quod admodo et deinceps non
possit per aliquam personam, corpus, collegium, vel universitatem mo-   40
lestari. Et mandaverunt, ac decreverunt, quod aliquis magistratus vel rec-
tor civitatis Janue vel districtus, tam in partibus istis, quam in partibus
Romanie, et ultramarinis, non possint agravare, inquietare, vel quomo-
dolibet molestare dictos Brancham vel Dexerinum, vel aliquem ipsorum,
nec audiat aliquem conquerentem; sub pena florenorum centum, in   45
quam ipso facto incurrat quilibet conquerens vel lamentacionem faciens.
Etiam quilibet magistractus [sic], qui super hoc quomodolibet preberet
audientiam et que pena sit aplicata et aplicata esse intelligatur dicto ope-
ri dicte darsine et tociens comittatur quociens fuerit contrafactum, et
nichilominus rata et firma remaneant omnia et singula supradicta, et eti-   50
am omnem Jurisdicionem et Bailiam cuiusquam magistratium civitatis
Janue et districtus possendise Intromittere vel iurisdictionem exercere
in aliquo locorum dictarum librarum clx, contra dictos Dexerinum et
Brancham, seu aliquem ex ipsis. Mandatur presens decrectum [sic] iinvio-
labiliter observari debere, et optinere debere perpetuam roboris firmita-   55
tem, et sit abrogatorium cuiuscumque alteri decrecto [sic], condicto vel
condendo contra presens decrectum [sic], seu ipsi in aliquo obvianti.

IVb. 11 April 1404: Implementing the foregoing decision, the order to
Dexerino Bustarino, instructing him to deliver the remaining one hun-
dred and sixty *libri,* in a single payment, to Inosio de Vignolo for trans-
fer to Carlo Ciconia as decreed. (Archivio di Stato di Genova, Archivio
Segreto, *Diversorum negociorum Cancellarie Communis Ianue,* 501
[1403-05], No. 134, f. lxxxvi [=64].)[27]

27. This text follows the preceeding one immediately, but in another, if more com-
mon script.

M°cccc iiii° die xi^a Aprilis
<De eodem>
Demandato Illustris et magnifici domini domini . . . Regis Januensis
Gubernatoris etc., et Consilii Antianorum. Vos Dexerine Bustarine. u-
5   nus ex olim officialibus officii Romanie, penes quem esse debent hoc
centum sexaginta Ianorum restantes, ex summa librarum cccclx, que
aliis solvi deberentur domino Imperatori Constantinopoli per Brancham
Spinulam qui postea demandato dicti officii Romanie cessavit in soluti-
onem dicti residii summe dictarum librarum clx, detis et solvatis[28] Ino-
10   sio de Vignolo et socio olim. . . . Massariis generalibus Communis Ianue,
pro ipsis dandis et solvendis Carolo Ciconie et socio Massariis Opperis
darsenate Ianue, in quod opus ordinatum est debere converti dictas li-
bras clx, ut patet solempni decreto ipsorum Magnifici domini . . . Gu-
bernatoris etc. et Consilii, die viiii mensis presentis Aprilis./ In cuius de-
15   creti observantiam sic mandant. Et hoc si et in quantum dictam peccu-
niam antea ut dicitur non solvistis dictis . . . Massariis, vigore alterius
mandati, alius de dicta solucione dicte peccunie vobis facti. Nam suffi-
cit quod fiat per vos dicta solucio, semel tantum.

Commentary

Our final texts bring us to the period of Jean Le Meingre, Marshal Boucic-
caut, as French Royal Governor of Genoa (1401-09). A romantic and swash-
buckling adventurer, he was already famous at home, and a *Maréchal de
France*, when he participated in the Crusade of Nicopolis and was among its
ransomed survivers. In 1399, he led a French expedition to aid Constantino-
ple against the Turks, and arranged for the Emperor Manuel II to return West
with him for the later's famous tour of European courts to appeal for aid. It
was expected that Boucicaut would lead an international expedition of relief,
planned to aid Constatinople against Bayazid, but with the collapse of that
scheme Boucicaut was instead designated to take charge of the French regime
that had been extablished since 1396 in Genoa, and which was in grave disar-
ray. His energetic administration there included such events as his naval cam-
paign against the Kingdom of Cyprus (1403) and the institution in Genoa of
the Banco di San Giorgio (1407). His absence from the city to intervene in
the affairs of Milan in 1409 was used by his opponents in Genoa to revoke
the submission to France and end his regime. He returned to a governmental
post in France, and was again a participant in a famous battle, at Agincourt in

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28. At this point the name "Olliverio de Marinis" was written and then crossed out,
being replaced by that of Inosio di Vignolo.

1415: captured there, he died six years later, still in English custody.[29]

The document in question is a trivial one, in essence, but in involves two points of interest. First, this is our only reference, apparently, to a previously unnoted grant of money sent by Genoa to aid Constantinople during Bayazid's siege of it. The date of it is not stipulated, but it may be conjectured as 1399. Indeed, among the numerous texts preserved regarding the Genoese participation in Boucicaut's expedition of that year, there is a reference made which may or may not reflect this specific grant. Under the date of 6 August 1399, there is a directive from the Royal Governor to the bankers Nicolao Lomelino and Raffaelo de Vivaldis with regard to some money "recollectam et habitam pro elimosina seu pro subsidio Serenissimi domini Imperatoris Constantinopolis" (*Diversorum negociorum Cancellarie Communis Ianue,* 499 [1399], no. 343 [f. 82^V/96^V]). No amount is given, and no reference is made here to Dexerino Bustarino, who is identified with the grant in our main text. On the other hand, the involvement of Bustarino with the latter grant is clearly datable to 1399. He was elected as a *massarius* of the Officium Romanie on 21 May of that year (*Diversorum negociorum,* 500 [1399]: no. 189 [f. 53^V/54^V]). He is referred to directly in connection with plans for Genoese naval aid to the Christian Levant in deliberations immediately following (22 May: *Diversorum negociorum,* 499 [1399]: no. 172 [f. 40^V/55^V]; and 23 May: *ibid.,* no. 188 [f. 42^V/57^V]). Several other deliberations of that period record him as present and voting (26 May, 1 July, 22 July), but after the last of those dates he does not seem to be referred to as present in Genoa, and we may infer that he possibly accompanied Boucicaut when the latter set sail for the East in August. It may thus be suggested that the money which our text of April, 1404, discussed was indeed the subsidy referred to on 6 August 1399 and it was this money which Dexerino Bustarino conveyed that summer by way of Boucicaut's expedition to Constantinople.

The second point of interest is a minor textual one, but not without some curiosity in an age when titles and protocol mattered so much. This is the description of Manuel in our first text of 1404 as "Imperator Romeorum." The normal designation used by Italians and other Westerners for the Byzantine sovereign in this age was likely to be "Imperator Constantinopoli(s)," as in the second text of 1404 and in the passage quoted in the foregoing paragraph. The style "Emperor of the Romans" would normally be reserved by this

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29. For a short summary of Boucicaut's career, see E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1953), I, 54. His involvement in the Crusade of Nicopolis may of course, be traced in the pages of Atiya, and more fully, Setton, pp. 340 ff., *passim.* Setton also gives a thorough discussion of Boucicaut's subsequent career, especially his exploits in aiding Constantinople and as Governor of Genoa, pp. 370-98. See also Barker, *Manuel II,* pp. 162-68, 187, 189, 221, 229, 235, and 243. On Boucicaut in Genoa as Governor, see also the references given above in n. 18, and above all, Negri, pp. 504-42.

time in Western usage for the Holy Roman or German Emperor, and we do indeed find that title "Imperator Romeorum" used consistently in Genoese texts for the German sovereign. Its application to Manuel may be a slip of the pen. and unworthy of serious comment, save that in this context it might be argued as a small courtesy directly reflecting the friendship of Genoa's then Governor, Boucicaut, for the Byzantine Emperor. What Boucicaut's opinions of the German Emperor may have been are impossible to say. (Though he had served at Nicopolis with Sigismund, then King of Hungary, later German Emperor.) But, as a personal friend of Manuel, and someone familiar with the Byzantine court, he must surely have been aware of the sensitivity toward titles, etiquette, and conflicting pretensions harbored by the Byzantines, who themselves would have regarded the title "Imperator Romeorum" as the only one possible for their sovereign, and the alternative "Imperator Constantinopoli" as a deplorable (if often unavoidable) insult. The suggestion may therefore be entertained that we have, in this most exceptional Genoese application of the title "Imperator Romeorum" to Manuel II of Constantinople, a small but pointed gesture of deference by Boucicaut to his old friend, as conveyed through the verbiage of a state document drafter in his name as Governor of Genoa.

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Mysticism and Social Involvement
in the Later Byzantine Church:
Theoleptos of Philadelphia—a Case Study

The term mysticism, from the Greek *mystikismos,* defies exact translation. From a philosophical viewpoint, it has been defined as "the belief in the possibility of an intimate and direct union of the human spirit with the fundamental principle of being," a union that is both "a mode of existence and a mode of knowledge different from and superior to normal existence and knowledge,"[1]

Christian Orthodox theologians prefer to speak of mystical life rather than mysticism. Mystical life has been understood as a way of spiritual growth which reaches a climax when the human being unites with the Absolute Being, following four stages of spiritual training: *catharsis,* that is spiritual purgation; *apatheia,* which implies freedom from passions; *fotismos,* that is illumination, and *amorphia,* a state of being in which only one picture, that of Christ, dominates the human mind. Union with God is the ultimate result of this development.

In either case, as a condition mysticism or mystical life is never static but in a continuous and dynamic quest. But is it possible to pursue this search in the secular world? For the student of the Byzantine religious mind there are additional questions. Was mystical life antithetical to societal involvement? Did mystics have a place in Byzantine society or did they belong to monasteries and to solitude? What was the social validity of mystics? A modern Byzantine scholar writes that "Byzantine mystics remained undisturbed by the temporal world."[2] The purpose of the present paper is to illustrate that Byzantine mystics did not divorce themselves from society and its problems. In fact, some major representatives of Byzantine mysticism were greatly involved in the issues of their time. Theoleptos, Metropolitan of Philadelphia, will

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1. A. Lalande, *Vocabulaire technique et critique de la philosophie,* 10th edition (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1967), p. 662; cf. E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), pp. 69-70. For a brisk summary of the various theories about mysticism, see R.C. Petry, "The Province and the Character of Mysticism" which is his introduction to *idem, Late Medieval Mysticism,* The Library of Christian Classics, vol. 13 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1937), pp. 17-45.

2. H.W. Haussig, *A History of Byzantine Civilization,* trans. Joan M. Hussey (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971), p. 330.

serve as our case study. He was an important personality of the fourteenth century, who contributed to the development of Hesychastic thought in the generation before Gregory Palamas. A figure in the mainstream of fourteenth-century Byzantine thought, Theoleptos was not an exception to the chorus of Byzantine Mystics who became involved in social efforts intending to improve society.

Sources for the present study include the writings of his contemporaries George Pachymeres, Nicephoros Gregoras, John Kantakouzenos, Nicephoros Choumnos[3] and, of course, Theoleptos' own writings. But Theoleptos' published essays are inadequate for a satisfactory reconstruction and study of his thought. Most of his twenty-four works mentioned by S. Salaville remain unedited. With the exception of a few philological articles and scattered comments in several monographs, Theoleptos has not been studied.[4] He deserves to become the subject of more extensive studies.

Born in the city of Nicaea, Asia Minor, Theoleptos lived between 1250 and 1324/25. Nicaea was the most important center of Greek learning in the thirteenth century when it served as the capital-in-exile of the Byzantine Empire while Constantinople was under Latin occupation. Theoleptos received an excellent education in both the Greek classics and Christian literature and theology, which enabled him to emerge as an important spokesman for the Orthodox in their relations with the Latin Church, as well as to become an accomplished writer. He wrote theological treatises, hymns, canons to Christ, to the Theotokos, and to the Second Coming of Christ, sermons, and poetry. Of his writing, little has been edited and not everything has survived.[5]

Theoleptos married at an early age. His wife was a good and beautiful woman whose memory accompanied him even to the monastery to which he fled in 1275 at the age of twenty-five. He was a deacon when he decided to leave behind his spouse and relatives and become a monk on Mt. Athos. As a monk,

3. Georgii Pachymeris, *De Michale et Andronico Palaeologis libri XIII,* ed. I. Bekker, Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae, 2 vols. (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1835), Bk. II: II, 116-19; Nicephori Gregoras, *Byzantina historia,* ed. L. Schopen, Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae, 3 vols. (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1829), Bk. VII: I, 221; Ioannes Cantacuzenos, *Historia,* ed. L. Schopen, Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae, 3 vols. (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1828-32), Bk. I. 14: I, 67; and Nicephoros Choumnos, "Epitaphios to the Metropolitan of Philadelphia Theoleptos," in *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regis,* ed. J. Fr. Boissonade, 5 vols. (Paris: Excursum in regio typographeo, 1829-33), V, 183-239.

4. H.G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur in Byzantinischen Reich* (München: Beck, 1959), p. 693.

5. Theoleptos' published essays are in *Patrologia cursus completus. Series greco-latina* [hereafter *PG*], ed. J.P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris: Lutetiae, 1857-66), CXLII, cols. 380-408. S. Salaville has listed Theoleptos's unpublished works in *Etudes-Byzantines,* 2 (1944), 119-25; *ibid.,* 5 (1947), 101-36; and in *Mélanges J. de Ghellinch,* 2 vols. Museum Lessianum. Section historique, no. 13-14 (Gemblous: J. Duculot, 1951), II, 879-80.

he became the disciple of Nicephoros, a leading exponent of Hesychasm.[6] On Mr. Athos, Theoleptos lived a very austere and rigorous spiritual life. While he subjected his body to deprivations, he absorbed the art and thought of the mystical fathers such as Symeon the New Theologian and Maximos the Confessor. His published writings indicate that he wrote primarily for the spiritual perfection of the solitary. He was profoundly concerned with prayer and especially with "pure prayer," the simple and direct form which concentrated on the person and the name of God by the Hesychasts. Nevertheless, as we shall observe later, he was also interested in the structured church, its unity and peace, its doctrine and growth.[7] His deep interest in the spiritual and ecclesiological aspects of the Church did not lead him to divorce the church from the "secular" world and its everyday problems and concerns.

Theoleptos exerted a great influence on the thought of Gregory Palamas and it is perhaps through Palamas that we can reconstruct Theoleptos' mystical theology. Palamas himself acknowledged his indebtedness and had word of praise for his master.[8] The concepts of *hesychia* (quietude) and *nypsis* (vigilance) as the most important elements of the inner or mystical life[9] stand out in Palamas as well as in Theoleptos and other earlier Byzantine mystics.

The central thought in Theoleptos' published essays is man's total redemption and ultimate life in God. He finds man's inner freedom and joy in his identification with God's universal spirit. Mind, reason, spirit, feelings, even physical needs must harmonize their existence and seek to serve only the Lord. Physical, spiritual, and intellectual functions must aim at the inner freedom of the human person which is achieved through a continuous cleansing and independence from physical needs. One of the most effective means is immersion of the mind and the soul in prayer and contemplation. Simple and direct, vigilant and alert, the human soul must seek to be in constant communion with the divine.[10] With a pure heart and through frequent or rather incessant calling upon God, with a warm and singing disposition one is led to love and to know God, one is catharsized and transformed into a divine being.[11] *Theosis* is the ultimate achievement of a long process of purification and catharsis.

The human mind needs to shut its doors to the outside world and turn introvert. When the spiritual and mental faculties are divorced from seeing and feeling and are raised above the world of the senses; when the human being is

6. Philotheos, *Encomion*, in PG, CLI, col. 561A; Nicephoros Choumnos, V, 200-01.

7. J. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, trans. by G. Lawrence (London: Faith Press, 1964), pp. 18-19.

8. Gregory Palamas, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα, ed. P. Chrestou (Thessaloniki, 1962-), I, 405 and 509.

9. Philotheos, CLI, col. 561A.

10. Theoleptos, CXLIII, cols. 389B and C.

11. *Ibid.*, col. 401A.

elevated to what can be visualized and mentally perceived, it reaches God. The method by which one accomplishes this state of being, is to continuously hold in mind and constantly recite the name of the Lord.[12] Nevertheless, Theoleptos realized that the human mind may wander away even in its most solitary and sacred moments. When one fails to check and control a restless mind, one must turn to reading of the Holy Scripture, of Church Fathers, and lives of Saints. To keep the mind preoccupied one must memorize Biblical verses.[13] Theoleptos' frame of reference is the Bible, the book of Psalms in particular, even though he cites other books such as Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Matthew, Luke, Roman, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, 2 Timothy, 1 Peter.

When Theoleptos spoke of the "world" he meant "things of the senses and of the flesh." He urged alienation from the needs of the senses and resistance to the demands of the flesh in order that a person may become absorbed by Christ and Christ's commandments. But to maintain "blessed meditations, soul-saving memories, divine contemplations and to read words of wisdom" one does not have to move to Mt. Athos. God can abide in a soul whether it resides in Constantinople or on Mt. Athos. Nevertheless, Theoleptos is very much concerned with and very protective of the untrained monk. He writes that the monks must imitate the wisdom of the bees. "When they see a multitude of wasps swarming round, they remain inside their hive and thus escape the harm those evildoers may cause. Understand by wasps communion with the world and with men of the world. Avoid them with all care, remain in the sacred chamber. . .," he advised.[14]

Theoleptos was greatly interested in the art of prayer. "Prayer is mental speaking to the Lord, in which words of prayer are uttered, with the eye of the mind turned toward God alone. When thought frequently invokes the name of the Lord, and the mind gives intense heed to this invocation of the Divine Name, then the light of recognizing God, as his God, envelops man's whole soul like a radiant cloud." Pure prayer is followed by knowledge of God. "When mind and thought stand before God through intense concentration of the eye upon Him and warmth of prayer, the heart is moved to tenderness. When mind, word, and spirit (heart) press close to God, the first by attention, the second by invocation, the third by tenderness of feeling, then the whole of the inner man serves God, as the Lord ordains: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart. . . ."

Theoleptos illustrated the nature of "pure prayer" by an example taken

12. *Ibid.*, col. 400D.
13. *Ibid.*, col. 393D.
14. *Ibid.*, cols. 380-408. The English version is from the *Writings from the Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart*, trans. E. Kadloubovsky and G.E.H. Palmer (London: Faber & Faber, 1951), pp. 383-97.

from the physical eye and tongue: "What the pupil is to the eye and the ut-
tering of a word to the tongue, so is memory of God to the mind and prayer
to thought. Just as the eye, receiving through the sense of sight a visual im-
pression of an object, utters the sound and obtains knowledge of what it sees
by the very act of seeing, so the mind, directing its loving attention (conscious-
ness) toward God and cleaving to Him with ardent feeling, in the silence of
most single contemplation is illumined by Divine radiance and receives therein
a token of the light to come." But prayer is not a function to be pursued in
isolation or in private chambers. One can pray while at work whether in the
fields or elsewhere. Theoleptos stressed that every kind of work should be in-
separably connected with mental prayer. Even manual work is not necessarily
distracting to pure prayer which seeks a continuous presence of God's name
in the human mind.[15]

Notwithstanding his mystical theology, Theoleptos was also a traditional
theologian who held fast to the teachings of the Holy Scripture and the Ecu-
menical Synods. This is best illustrated in his defense of the Orthodox posi-
tion toward the procession of the Holy Spirit and the dispute concerning the
ousia and *energia* of God. In the Synod of 1285, which met to consider the
teachings of the Latinophile Patriarch John Bekkos concerning the proces-
sion of the Holy Spirit (*filioque*), Theoleptos was a champion of the Orthodox
viewpoint and opposed addition of the *filioque* to the creed. Any addition
would be a violation of the Church's teachings which stressed that neither ad-
ditions to the faith nor subtractions should be made without the deliberation
and decision of an Ecumenical Council. He emphasized that the Bible's testi-
mony, which speaks that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father (John 15:
26), is sufficient justification for the Orthodox Church's position. Procession
means movement forward of one person from another. And who can know
better about this movement or procession than the unbegotten Logos, the
Christ?

Nevertheless, Theoleptos advised that the procession issue cannot be ration-
alized for it is a matter of faith rather than of logic. As the doctrine pertain-
ing to the nature and essence of God is unexplainable and a mystery, likewise
the human mind cannot learn anything about the Holy Spirit's procession ex-
cept what Christ has taught.[16] An analogy, however, can be drawn. The rela-
tion of the Father to the Holy Spirit is like the relation between the disc of
the sun to its rays and to its light. The Father is the cause of the procession
but both Holy Spirit and Father are of one nature and inseparable as the
trunk and the branches of a tree are united with its roots, or as the fingers of
a person are united with the hand or arm.

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15. *Ibid.*, pp. 377-78.
16. Nicephoros Choumnos, V, 190-93.

However, one should not seek to understand the incomprehensible and the mysterious, the uncircumscribed and the infinite. In agreement with an ancient Greek philosopher who is not named, Nicephoros Choumnos summarized Theoleptos' position: "I know what is not God," that is, no visible thing and nothing that can be perceived, "What is [God] I do not know."[17] Any attempt to define God is ignorance, erroneous, and reckless innovation. The Church should not violate rules, standards, and teachings set forth in Ecumenical Councils but must hold fast to "evangelical, apostolic, and patristic traditions."[18]

Theoleptos was a mystic whose life, thought, and activity indicate that Byzantine mysticism was never monolithic, a mysticism which sought only a continuous relation with God, ignoring social responsibility. While some Byzantine mystics were preoccupied with the quest to unite with the divine in solitude, others, like Athanasios I, Gregory Palamas, and Theoleptos found no antithesis between mysticism and service to society. Theoleptos had a pasion for justice and proved a man of action, active in works of social improvement, charity, and dedication to the human person. Nicephoros Choumnos indicates that Theoleptos was a mystic who had not divorced himself from society and its needs. Holiness as the Byzantine Church understood it was not necessarily a rejection of the world but, on the contrary, the Church taught that holiness could be achieved through action in the world.

In the opinion of Choumnos, Theoleptos was a perfect man in God whose concern was to live a life of *theoria*, that is in prayer and in a mystical relationship with the divine, and through *praxis* or activity which intended to help and improve society. His social involvement emanated from the principles of love and justice for all.[19] Like other mystics, Theoleptos had withdrawn to monastic solitude when he became 25 years old. But, when several years later he became the Metropolitan of Philadelphia, he devoted himself to the city and its problems. In his private life he was always dedicated to the divine and the metaphysical, but in his public life he exerted every effort to redeem his fellow men from desperation, hopelessness, need, and want, especially when his See was besieged by the Turks and was threatened with starvation and death. His ultimate goal, as the ultimate goal of many Byzantine mystics, was the quest for the transcedent reality, but never did he sunder himself from earthly relations and responsibilities. He viewed the eternal as an extension of the temporal.

There is no evidence as to when Theoleptos left Mt. Athos and when he

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17. *Ibid.*, p. 195
18. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-01. For the relations between Theoleptos and Choumnos, see I. Ševčenko, *Etudes sur la polemique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Bruxelles: Editions de Byzantion, 1962), pp. 120-21, n. 1.

was ordained priest. He was ordained Bishop of Philadelphia in 1284. As a clergyman he opposed Michael VIII Palaeologos' religious policies, for which he was imprisoned. As Bishop of Philadelphia, he participated not only in the fourteenth-century theological discussions concerning the essence, the energies, and manifestations of God, but in the social and political disputes of his times as well. With several intervals, he was active in the political, social, and religious life of the capital at least up to 1310. He served as a close advisor of Andronikos II Palaeologos and counted among his friend and students several dignitaries and intellectuals. He enjoyed the confidence and friendship of the Great Logothete (or Prime Minister) Theodore Metochites[20] and the intellectual Nicephoros Choumnos. Nicephoros Gregoras, Michael Gabras, Gregory Akyndinos—all among the most representative of Byzantine Christian Humanists. Also among his disciples was the Princess Irene, wife of the despot John Palaeologos and daughter-in-law of the Emperor Andronikos.[21] Theoleptos enjoyed an excellent reputation among all political and religious factions of the first half of the fourteenth-century. In the disputes between Emperor Andronikos II and his grandson, Andronikos III, Theoleptos had served as a peacemaker and liaison between the two. John Kantakouzenos praised the bishop's courage and patience in difficult circumstances.[22]

A man of strong convictions and a reputation for integrity, he participated in the ecclesiastical dialogues and became the protagonist of the Orthodox viewpoint. Because of the internal dissensions, the Byzantine Church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was threatened with several schisms, by the Josephites, the Arsenites, the sympathizers of Patriarch Gregory Kyprios, and the followers of the Latinophile Patriarch John Bekkos. Theoleptos worked for ecclesiastical unity. He condemned schismatic tendencies and stressed the need for the hierarchic unity of the Church as well as the sacramental unity of the faithful.[23] He proved to be an opponent of the prounionists and the Latinophile John Bekkos.[24] George Pachymeres, who might have been prejudiced because he had himself joined the Latin Church, indicates that Theoleptos was an agitator. He adds, however, that Theoleptos was not only a pious person but that his involvement was not motivated by evil or questionable intentions.[25]

Theoleptos was one of the most influential churchmen during the reign of

20. Nicephori Gregoras, I, 271, 303 and 305.
21. V. Laurent, "Une princesse byzantine au cloitre," *Echos d'Orient,* 29 (1930), 29-60.
22. John Cantacuzenos, I, 94-95.
23. V. Laurent, "Les crises religieuses à Byzance," *Revue des études byzantines,* 18 (1960), 45-54 and 123-29.
24. Georgii Pachymeris, II, 116-17 and 118-19.
25. *Ibid.,* pp. 132 and 249.

Andronikos II (1282-1328). His influence contributed to the resignation of Gregory Kyprios from the Patriarchal throne. In the Synod of Blachernae in 1285, which proceeded against the former Patriarch John Bekkos, the different views concerning the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit tended to divide the Orthodox into antagonistic camps. In his effort to reconcile the opponents, the learned and able Patriarch Gregory Kyprios proposed a compromise. In his *Ekthesis. . . tes Pisteos,* he expounded a theory of procession which not only failed to satisfy either party but exposed him to criticism and made him suspect of heresy.

Theoleptos was one of those hierarchs who accused the Patriarch of unorthodox views, stressing that Gregory had come under the sway, of a certain monk named Mark the Jew. Even though the Patriarch defended his orthodoxy, Theoleptos, the Great Logothete Theodore Muzalon, and the Metropolitan of Ephesos John Cheilas pressed for Gregory's resignation which was realized in 1289. The patriarch retired to the Monastery of Aristene where he spent the remainder of his life. In a letter to the emperor, the deposed patriarch defended himself and complained that he had been unjustly accused by Theoleptos and his group.[26]

Nevertheless, neither Theoleptos' profound spirituality and mysticism, nor his involvement with theological and ecclesiastical matters averted his attention from social and national matters. As Metropolitan of Philadelphia, Theoleptos took personal charge of the city's defense against the Turkish siege of 1304-05. While Gregoras attributes the city's survival to the military assistance of Roger de Flor and the Catalans,[27] Nicephoros Choumnos, whose information on the siege of Philadelphia and the role of its bishop has escaped the attention of modern scholars, provides a different picture of what happened in the years 1304-05. He relates that Philadelphia was still famous and beautiful and also a populous and large city—second only to Constantinople.[28] At some distance from the sea, Philadelphia had to rely on land routes for its provisions. While the Byzantine armies were engaged elsewhere in war, the neighboring Turks took advantage and besieged the city. They intended to starve it to death rather than to keep on constant attacks. Choumnos writes that Theoleptos proved himself a good shepherd who not only served but who offered his life as a ransom for his flock. First, he supervised many philanthropic activities. He organized common meals and did not hesitate to serve personally as a baker, cook, and a waiter distributing food with his own hands.

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26. *Ibid.,* pp. 301-10. The views of Gregory Kyprios on the Holy Spirit in *PG,* CXLII, cols. 233-46. His defence in cols. 267C-270Aˆcf. V. Laurent, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople,* vol. I: *Les Actes des Patriarches,* fasc. 4: *Les Regestes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris: L'Institut Français des Etudes Byzantines, 1947-), pp. 306-07.

27. Nicephori Gregoras, I, 221; and Georgii Pachymeres, Bk. V. 23: II, 426-27.

28. Nicephoros Choumnos, V, 229.

Equal distributions were made to all–rich and poor alike. Neither his office nor his age stood in his way. He became "a chief priest as well as a 'father' and provisioner of his flock."[29]

But, the siege of the city was intensified progressively and the provisions within the city became scarce. Death from hunger was taking its toll. The bishop decided to negotiate and offer himself to the Turks as a ransom in exchange for their departure and the solution of the siege. Choumnos adds that Theoleptos imitated the Good Shepherd who sacrificed Himself for the redemption of mankind. The Turks were so impressed with the bishop's sacrificial offer and example that they abandoned the siege and fled.[30]

In addition to pro-Theoleptos sources, even Catalan accounts, which were very critical of the Greeks, did not fail to praise the person and the rule of Theoleptos. The sixteenth-century Aragonese scholar Francisco de Moncada synthesized the memoirs of several eye-witnesses of the Catalan Company's expedition to the Greek East, including those of Ramon Muntaner, Desclot, Berenguer de Entenza, and Zuria, and he produced an important history of the Catalans among the Greeks and the Turks. Notwithstanding Moncada's pro-Spanish bias, he wrote highly of Theoleptos, who is described as "a man of rare sanctity, whose prayers had done more to defend the city than had the arms of the people who guarded it."[31]

As Metropolitan, especially after 1310, Theoleptos remained close to his flock and set a paradigm of a man of active love, justice and involvement. He was very frugal in his personal needs, seeking no material benefits either for himelf or for his relatives. He preferred to deprive himself even of basic necessities rather than see a poor person go hungry. The income of the Church was spent for the poor[32] whose rights he defended before the wealthy and powerful. Choumnos states that Theoleptos could not tolerate even the slightest injustice to the poor and the weak, which came to his attention. He upheld rigorously the laws of the country and served as impartial justice to all. He personally visited the wealthy and the prosperous raising money and collecting goods for the poor, many of whom lacked even basic necessities. Every well-to-do citizen was obliged to set aside, either from his surpluses or from the goods set aside for his family, a portion for the needy. *Philoptochia, philanthropia,* and *philoponia* were three outstanding virtues that Theoleptos emphasized and pursued in his ministry.[33]

29. *Ibid.,* pp. 229-31.
30. *Ibid.,* pp. 231-34.
31. Francisco de Moncada, *Expedicion de los Catalanes y Aragoneses contra Turcos y Griegos,* ed. S. Gili y Gaya (Madrid, 1954), p. 53. For an English translation, see *The Catalan Chronicle of Francisco de Moncada,* trans. F. Hermandez and J.M. Sharp (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1975), pp. 44-45.
32. *Ibid.,* pp. 200-01.
33. *Ibid.,* p. 227.

The thought as well as the daily concerns of Theoleptos demonstrate that mysticism and social welfare involvement were not antithetical in the mind of late Greek fathers. For Theoleptos, spiritual life, social justice, civil service, and philanthropic action were inseparable. The Church is the people and the people make the state, and the state is identified with the physical world which serves as the entrance into the metaphysical and ultimate world. There is a-bundant evidence indicating that the Byzantine Church realized that active love, *agape* in *diakonia,* was perceived as the most important means for total sanctification and ultimate theosis—an ideal which served as both the inspiration and the aspiration of many Byzantines.

From as early as the fourth century many Byzantine mystics were zealous, restless, and active people. They were individuals who for many years immersed themselves in prayer, solitude, and contemplation. But the time arrived in their spiritual growth when they burst forth into a life of action. Like mystics of other religions "they were swept back into the vast current of life; from increased vitality they radiated an extraordinary energy, daring, power of conception and realization . . . such is the culminating point of the inner evolution of the great mystics."[34] Theoleptos illustrates that Byzantine mystics were effective activists because of their prior seclusion, contemplation, and life of thought and prayer. They confirm that "a mystic who is not of supreme service to the society is not a mystic at all."[35]

In the long history of the empire not a few mystics sought the bliss of the other world by getting involved in the betterment of the present world. They did not hide forever in the desert or in the cloister but, following a spiritual development in the cloister, they moved into the world seeking its moral, social, and even its economic and political reform. Far from being an anomalous eccentricism and selfish escapism, Byzantine mysticism was a community-minded and altruistic religious pursuit. But it was practiced by the elite few, rather than by the average believer.

Byzantine Christian mysticism was neither unique nor original in its attitude toward contemplation and action, for it was greatly influenced by Platonism and neo-Platonism in particular, which viewed action as an extension and the consequence of contemplation. Plotinos, who influenced Byzantine Christian mysticism as did no other person, viewed action as "a shadow or as an aspect of contemplation," even though it was an inferior substitute for it. Plotinos writes: "Creativity and action are either a weakening or a consequence of contemplation; a weakening, if the doer had nothing in view beyond the thing done, a consequence if he had another prior object of contem-

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34. H. Bergson, *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion* (New York: Holt, 1946), pp. 227-28.
35. R.D. Ranade, *Indian Mysticism: Mysticism in Maharashtra,* History of Indian Philosophy, vol. 7 (Poona: Aryabhushan Press Office, 1933), p. 28.

plation better than what he made."[36] The person who performs good deeds and pursues beneficient works reveals the divine life in himself. The human is God's *synergos* and man's earthly existence is expected to be a continuous liturgy composed of both prayers and services. Earthly life is a school for the pedagogy of souls and the cosmos is God's universal academy for the training of human beings.[37] But other-worldliness and earthly involvement are not mutually exclusive. Metaphysical aspirations were not equated with indifference to the plight of this world.

Byzantine Christianity was not only a doctrinal Christianity, one which had been divorced from everyday life experiences. Church fathers, and indeed the whole religious mind of Byzantium, made it perfectly clear that doctrine was expected to induce the faithful to everyday experiences and make them responsible agents of Christianity. Dogma, canons, statements of faith were flexible instruments intended to create a viable religion, shaping character and conduct of individuals and of society as a whole. The various theological and religious controversies were not controversies over academic propositions but discussions of issues which were the product of historical circumstances and local situations affecting this or that aspect of the individual or the society's life. Byzantine Christianity was accessible to all people and affected the life of most as Gregory of Nyssa relates. The intellectual theological issues were of concern to all. They stimulated both their emotions as well as their mind, their opinion as well as their morality, their rationality as well as their irrational powers.

Whether in fourth- and fifth-century Christianity, where the great theological and Christological issues were discussed by eminent theologians, or in the eighth and ninth centuries when the iconoclastic controversy affected the religious feeling of all, Byzantine Christianity was linked to personal experience and to the moral psychology of all the faithful. Churchmen, theologians, monks, and even the common people theologized from what they really knew as a daily experience.[38] Their controversies expressed their convictions and spiritual certainties or their doubts.

The involvement in society of both ordained clergy and of monks as well as the social welfare concerns of the ordinary faithful reveal that Byzantine Christianity was a religion not only of intellectual curiosity but also of moral energy intending to train the character and the will of the individual faithful,

36. *Plotinus,* ed. A.H. Armstrong, Loeb Classical Library, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), Bk. VIII. 4: III, 373. See also the brilliant observations of Dodds, pp. 69-101, where the author discusses mysticism, both Greek and Christian.

37. Cf. Basil, *Homilies in Hexaemeron,* in *Basile de Cesarée, Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron,* ed. S. Giet, 2nd edition, Sources chrétiennes, no. 26 (Paris: Editions de Cerf, 1968), I. 5: pp. 104-10, esp. 106.

38. Gregory of Nyssa, "Oratio de Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti," in *PG,* XLVI, col. 557.

and to rule their life, and to transform the ethos of the society in which they lived. Thus, Byzantine Chrisianity should be measured not only by its theolobical coherence or disputes, but also by its ethical effect on individuals and on societies. Theologians made Byzantine Christianity a theological system of profound and coherent ideas, but they never divorced it from society and its problems as we have emphasized in other works.

The mystical as well as the social life of churchmen like Theoleptos con-' firm that Christianity was perceived by the Byzantines as a religion for suffering and groping humanity. The mystical theology of the fathers, which stressed the concepts of return to the paradisiac state of purity, divine resemblance, and *theosis,* became an instrument for moral and social reforms, reforms pursued by persons who desired to achieve the ultimate goal.[39]

In the person of the mystic Theoleptos we possess one more illustration confirming the fact that Byzantine Christianity confronted not only the intellectual anxieties but also the miseries and the wretchedness of the present *Kairos.* Theoleptos, as well as other Byzantine mystics, sought to achieve a permanent feeling of interdependence and even a union between inner personal life and social involvement for the spiritual growth and improvement of themselves and of the outside world. One may argue that Theoleptos was not a typical but rather a very individual exception. Admittedly, no two individuals are alike, and even in Byzantium, which was marked by unity in the mainstream of its theology and classical secular education, there was a great deal of diversity in its religious and secular mind. In the realm of mysticism and social involvement, Theoleptos possessed his own individuality but was not atypical. Evagrios of Pontos, Maximos the Confessor, Symeon the New Theologian, Athanasios I of Constantinople and, of course, Gregory Palamas were both mystics and activists. Theoleptos is classified in that category of mystics-activists. The principle that governed all of them was not mere action but action of the human being in union with the ultimate Being.

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39. G.B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), pp. 79-82.

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The Arian Policy of Constantius II
and its Impact on Church-State Relations
in the Fourth-Century Roman Empire*

Constantius II (337-61), the second son of Constantine the Great and Faus-
ta, was an ardent adherent to Arianism and was determined to have this doc-
trine accepted by the Church as orthodox. This policy is noteworthy because
it followed upon the condemnation of Arianism as heresy at the Council of
Nicaea (325) during the reign of Constantine. But perhaps a still more signi-
ficant impact of Constantius' promotion of Arianism was its escalation be-
yond all precedence of the influence of the emperor upon Church policy.

Constantine died in 337. Two years earlier he had designated his three sur-
viving sons as his successors and provided that the empire be apportioned a-
mong them. Constantine II, aged twenty-one, received the westernmost pro-
vinces of Britain, Gaul and Spain. Constantius, aged twenty, was given the
East from Thrace to the Persian frontier. The sixteen-year-old Constans was
made sovereign of the middle section including Africa, Italy and Illyricum.
This triarchy continued until 340, when Constantine II was killed and his
holdings were seized by Constans. The joint rule of Constans and Constantius
endured until the death of Constans in 350, after which Constantius was sole
emperor until his own demise in 361.[1] The reign of Constantius consequently
falls into two periods, the first comprised of his shared rule, the second of his
independent sovereignty. This division is important because Constantius' fa-
voring of Arianism was checked in the first period by his anti-Arian brothers.
As a result, his Arian policy changed in intensity and approach when he be-
came sole ruler.

Appropriate here would be a brief historical sketch of Arianism and its ef-
fect on Church-state relations during the reign of Constantine the Great. A-
bout the year 318, an Alexandrian priest named Arius published the doctrine

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*After this article had gone to press, the following study appeared in print: R. Klein,
Constantius II. und die christliche Kirche (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft,
1977). The author makes a detailed study of both the political and doctrinal aspects of
Constantius' Arian policy. His book demonstrates, on a far more detailed scale than my
article, that Constantius' Arian policy was an aspect of the emperor's despotism.

1. For summaries of Constantius's reign, see A. Piganiol, *L'empire chrétien, 325-395,*
2nd ed. (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1972), pp. 81-121; and E. Stein, *Geschic-
te des spatrömischen Reiches,* vol. I: *Von römischen zum byzantinischen Staate, 284-476*
(Wien: Seidel & Soh, 1928), 201-46.

that the Son of God was a created being. This teaching contrasted sharply with the more widely accepted view that the Father and Son were consubstantial. The opinion of Arius rapidly gained popularity in the eastern empire, with the result that two forms of Christian doctrine became prevalent.[2]

This was an alarming turn of events for Constantine. He was apparently attempting to utilize Christianity as a vehicle for cultural unity.[3] This end could scarcely be accomplished by a religion that was disunited over doctrine; and so Constantine resolved to remedy the matter. As a layman, Constantine technically possessed no authority in the formulation of doctrine or regulation of the Church's internal affairs. Nevertheless, his actual influence over both was considerable; and there was some justification for this in contemporaneous political theory. By his conversion to Christianity, Constantine added a new feature to the absolutism developed by his predecessor Diocletian. The emperor, as Vicar of God on earth, was responsible for carrying out the divine will in the secular world.[4]

By edict and exhortation, Constantine was able to assemble an ecumenical council at Nicaea in 325 to examine the matter of Arianism. He presided at and often led the discussions, although as a non-cleric he abstained from voting on the canons. Arianism was overwhelmingly defeated, due largely to the arguments of Athanasius, a young archdeacon from, ironically, Arius' own city of Alexandria. Arius and the few supporters that remained with him were deposed from their respective offices by the council and exiled by Constantine. A creed setting forth the consubstantiality position was adopted. Constantine, as Vicar of God, made known his acceptance of this document, and admonished his subjects to do likewise.[5]

What unity had been achieved in 325 was short-lived. The Arians soon began to reinstate their views, and so the quarrels resumed. Constantine, moreover, abetted this resurgence with a sudden and mysterious change to an at-

2. H.M.Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism, Chiefly Referring to the Character and Chronology of the Reaction Which Followed the Council of Nicaea*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Deighton & Co., 1900), p. 16; L.M.O. Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church, From Its Foundation to the End of the Fifth Century*, 3 vols. (New York: Longmans, Green, 1912), II, 98-101.

3. For thorough dated analyses of Constantine's conversion, see N.H. Baynes, "Constantine the Great and the Christian Church," *Proceeding of the British Academy*, 15 (1929), 341-442; E. Delaruelle, "La conversion de Constantin, état actuel de la question," *Bulletin de litterature ecclesiastique*, 54 (1953), 37-54 and 84-100; H. Kähler, "Konstantin 313," *Jahrbuch de Deutschen Archaëologisches Instituts*, 67 (1952), 1-30; A.A. Vasiliev, *A History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453*, 2 vols. (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1952), I, 45-49, For a far more recent viewpoint, see H. Dörries, *Constantine the Great*, trans. R. Bainton (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 37-39, plus bibliographical citations.

4. A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, 2 vols. (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964), I, 93.

5. Duchesne, *Early History*, II, 114-24; Piganiol, p. 34; and Vasiliev, I, 56.

titude favorable to Arianism.[6] Once again, imperial power was exerted upon the Church. Constantine rescinded the exiles of the supporters of Arius and banished in turn the leaders of the Nicene cause.[7] Athanasius himself, who had been consecrated bishop of Alexandria in 328, was deposed in 335 by a council of Arian bishops assembled at Tyre.

The role of Constantine in the deposition of Athanasius is noteworthy. He ordered Athanasius to attend the Council of Tyre; and the bishop complied, undoubtedly knowing what the outcome would be for him. Subsequently, Athanasius went before Constantine to protest his deposition. Constantine ordered the members of the Council of Tyre to justify their action; and, satisfied with their explanations, he banished Athanasius.[8] The emperor apparently had sufficient authority in Church matters to order a bishop to attend a council, and was considered an acceptable mediator in a conciliar dispute.

Constantine bequeathed to his sons a confused and ambiguous Christian policy. His increasingly favorable consideration of Arianism no doubt encouraged Constantius in his own belief. Nevertheless, the Nicene Creed was never repealed,[9] and the two brothers of Constantius remained to their deaths ardent Nicenes.[10] Thus the way was paved for future disputes over Christian doctrine. But at the same time, Constantine left behind him the precedent of a strong influence exercised by the emperor over Church affairs. This precedent was destined to have an important effect upon the Arian policy of Constantius.

Shortly after his acquisition of the eastern throne, Constantius demonstrated his favoritism of Arianism. About the time of Constantine's death, the old Bishop Alexander of Constantinople likewise entered into rest. The suffragans of Constantinople consecrated the Deacon Paul as the new bishop, in accordance with the wishes of Alexander.[11] Constantius, however, intervened. He banished Paul on charges which are not clear; and, at his instigation, another synod was convened, composed presumably of the same bishops who had elected Paul. This council ordained as bishop of Constantinople none other than Eusebius of Nicomedia, the leader of the Arian movement.[12]

The placing of Eusebius in the see of Constantinople did not set a precedent for the emperor's involvement in ecclesiastical affairs; Constantine had

6. For explanations of Constantine's wavering, see Gwatkin, pp. 93-96; and Duchesne, *Early History*, II, 131.

7. Gwatkin, pp. 65-66; Vasiliev, I, 56; and Jones, I, 88.

8. Gwatkin, pp. 88-93; Stein, I, 167; and Duchesne, *Early History*, II, 145.

9. Vasiliev, I, 56; and Dörries, p. 158.

10. Vasiliev, I, 67; and Jones, I, 114.

11. Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad monachos*, 7, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series greco-latina* [hereafter *PG*], ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris: Vrayet de Surcy, 1857), XXV, col. 701A. Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II. 6, in *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 196A.

12. Athanasius, *Historia, ibid.*, XXV, col. 701B; Socrates, *ibid.*, LXVII, II, col. 1937; Sozomen. *Historia ecclesiastica*, III. 4, in *ibid.*, col. 1039C.

seated and unseated bishops through similar coercion. But Constantius' action vastly advanced the cause of Arianism. Constantinople was not a patriarchal see,[13] so from an ecclesiastical standpoint it was of secondary importance. It received great prestige, however, from the political importance of the city. Constantinople was the capital of Constantius realm; hence the city and its bishopric were necessarily aligned with him. Underscorcing this relationship was the fact that Constantinople was the dynasty's own city, having been founded by Constantine in 330 as the capital of his newly reunited empire. Moreover, Constantine had considered his namesake city a New Rome, with absolutist and Christian traditions intended to replace the republicanism and paganism of the old capital.[14] The see of a new Christian capital would understandably be highly respected no matter what its ecclesiastical standing.

Meanwhile, Athanasius persuaded the Nicene Constantine II to rescind his exile and allow him to return to Alexandria.[15] There, he reassumed his episcopal duties on the ground that the Council of Tyre was fraudulent and that he had never been deprived of his see, even while in exile by imperial command. He was supported by his Nicene suggragans who enthusiastically welcomed him and justified their action in an encyclical. But during these developments, the Arian elements of the Alexandrian population were active in opposing the return of Athanasius. They proposed one of their members, Pistus, as a replacement for Athanasius, and sent letters to Julius, Bishop of Rome, to obtain his sanction for their candidate.[16]

There was a Church precedent for having disputes pertaining to the see of Alexandria settled by the bishop of Rome.[17] And at this time, it was apparently customary to obtain the Roman bishop's sanction in all ecclesiastical transactions. Although he was not considered superior in authority to his fellow patriarchs, the bishop of Rome was given by virtue of the Petrine foundation of his see, a primacy of honor.[18] His support, then, would be desirable for any religious party. Moreover, Rome was the only patriarchal see in the western region outside Constantius' realm, an area which was largely Nicene and ruled by Nicene emperors.[19] To acquire the favor of the most important bishop in this Nicene stronghold would be an asset to the Arians. Athan-

13. Constantinople was declared a patriarchal see in 381 by the Council of Constantinople. See K.J. von Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, trans. H. Leclercq (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907-), II, 815.

14. Jones, I, 83.

15. Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, 87, in *PG*, XXV, cols. 401C-404D; and Hefele, I, 591.

16. Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, 19, *PG*, XXV, col. 280A.

17. *Ibid*., 35, col. 308A.

18. *Ibid*., col. 308B; *Socrates*, II. 8, *ibid*., LXVII, col. 196B; and Sozomen, III. 8, *ibid*., LXVII, col. 1053A.

19. Jones, I, 114.

asius, no doubt wishing to gain Julius' support for himself, sent delegates of his own to Rome.[20]

While the representatives of the two Alexandrian factions were presenting their respective cases before the bishop of Rome, Eusebius of Constantinople convoked a council to which all bishops within the realm of Constantius were invited. The council was held at Constantius' palace in Antioch during the winter of 338-39. As the Arians dominated the Eastern sector of the empire, the decisions were understandably to Athanasius' disadvantage. The Council of Tyre was upheld, and with it, of course, Athanasius' deposition. An Arian bishop from Cappadocia, Gregory, was selected by the Council of Antioch to succeed Athanasius, and was duly consecrated bishop of Alexandria by Eusebius.[21]

Such proceedings were unquestionably irregular. The Council of Nicaea had established that a bishop had to be selected and consecrated by the other bishops of the province in which he resided. Even if the proceedings of Tyre were valid and Athanasius were justifiably deposed, the election of Gregory was still illegal.[22]

Constantius, however, who attended the sessions of the Council of Antioch, wholeheartedly endorsed its decisions. And despite the irregularity of the election of Gregory, Constantius was determined to secure the Cappadocian's installation in Alexandria. Gregory was sent from Antioch to Alexandria with a military escort that was required to remain in Alexandria and maintain order until the installation ceremonies were completed. The prefect of Egypt, Philagrius, no doubt with Constantius' approval, issued an edict requiring all residents of Alexandria to accept Gregory as their lawful bishop.[23]

Once again, Constantius was in part following the precedent of his father by enforcing with secular power the decisions of a council. But in this case, the council had abrogated canon law. Constantius therefore had demonstrated his intention to support the Arian party—and with military force—even in opposition to established Church requirements. Despite Constantius' precautions, riots were started in Alexandria by the supporters of Athanasius. The latter fled, declaring that he did not wish his presence to serve as an instigation to violence. He proceeded to Rome, where he laid the outrage of Gregory's installation before Julius.[24]

20. Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, 19, *PG*, XXV, cols. 277D-281A.

21. *Ibid.*, 30, col. 300A; Socrates, II. 8, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 197A; Sozomen, III. 5, LXVII, col. 1041A and B. Socrates and Sozomen have confused this council with the later so-called Council of the Dedication of 341. See Gwatkin, p. 116, n. 2.

22. Hefele, I, 591; and Duchesne, *Early History*, II, 159.

23. Athanasius, *In encyclicam ad episcopos epistola*, 3, in *PG*, XXV, col. 228B; idem, *Historia*, 10, col. 704A; Socrates, II. 11, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 205A; and Sozomen, III. 6, *ibid.*, col. 1048B.

24. Socrates, II. 11, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 205B; and Sozomen, III. 8, *ibid.*, col. 1052B.

The bishop of Rome summoned an ecumenical council to examine the situation. He invited bishops from throughout the empire and especially urged the Easterners to come and justify their selection of Gregory. When they refused, their Western colleagues, assembled at Rome, declared the Council of Tyre fraudulent and the replacement of Athanasius void.[25] Julius then addressed a bitterly critical letter to the Eastern bishops. He interpreted their refusal to justify the installation of Gregory as an indication that they could find no fault with Athanasius, but that they desired his removal so they could preach Arianism without challenge.[26] During the time that the Council of Rome was in session, an important political change took place. Constantine II and Constans quarreled; and their differences escalated into a civil war. Constantine II was killed, and control of his realm was assumed by Constans.[27] By virtue of this doubling of his holdings, Constans, an ardent enemy of Arianism, became more powerful than Constantius.

The letter of Julius and the predominance of Constans placed the Easterners on the defensive. The Nicene doctrine was still the official religious position of the empire, so the Easterners certainly needed to justify their laborious and rather obvious efforts to place the two principal sees of the Eastern Church under the control of Arians. Now that Athanasius was under protection of the stronger prince, it was more imperative than ever that the East justify its pro-Arian conduct or incur anathematization.

This justification was accomplished at a council called by Eusebius at Antioch in 341. The pretext was the dedication of a church recently completed by Constantius. Here the Eastern bishops, in Constantius' presence, denied their alleged adherence to the doctrines of Arius. They then formulated a creed which was similar to the Nicene; but, in the description of the Sons's relationship to the Father, they scrupulously replaced the term "consubstantial" with an essentially equivalent but nevertheless ambiguous phrase.[28] Eusebius died shortly after the Council of the Dedication. The event prompted the exiled Bishop Paul to seek a pardon, which Constantius, possibly intimidated by Constans, granted. Paul returned to Constantinople where he rallied the support of the Nicenes and reassumed his episcopal duties. The Arians supported a priest names Macedonius as successor to Eusebius. Bitter strife ensued, fre-

25. Athanasius, *Historia*, 11, *ibid.*, XXV, col. 705C; Socrates, II. 15, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 212B; and Sozomen, III. 8, *ibid.*, col. 1052C.

26. Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, 20-35, *ibid.*, XXV, cols. 281-308C.

27. Socrates, II. 5, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 192B; Sozomen, III. 5, *ibid.*, col. 1037A; and Theodoret, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II. 3, in *ibid.*, LXXXII, col. 996C.

28. Athanasius, *Epistola de synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleuciae in Isauria celebratis*, 22-23, in *ibid.*, XXVI, cols. 720A-724B; Hilary, *De synodis*, 29-30, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina* [hereafter *PL*], ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: Vrayet de Surcy, 1841-79), X, cols. 502A-504A.

quently breaking into riots.[29]

Constantius became alarmed at these developments, particularly the renewed possibility of a Nicene bishop in Constantinople. Accordingly, he sent the *magister equitum* Hermogenes to Constantinople with orders to expel Paul. Hermogenes apparently underestimated the ferocity of Paul's supporters, who assassinated him, dragged his body through the streets and looted and burned his Constantinopolitan home. Constantius, on being informed of Hermogenes' end, retired to Constantinople to appraise the situation personally. He reordered the banishment of Paul for inciting violence. Macedonius, who was apparently as guilty of starting trouble as was Paul, was simply reprimanded by the emperor. Constantius strongly disapproved of Macedonius as bishop because of the latter's part in the riots,[30] but as Macedonius was the Arian candidate, Constantius ordered the praetorian prefect Philip to secure Macedonius' installation.[31] Again, Constantius acted to advance the Arian case, even at the expenses of justice.

Meanwhile Constans had taken an intense interest in the affairs of the Eastern Church. In 342, possibly at the urging of Julius, Constans requested Constantius to send to the court of Trèves four bishops who had attended the Council of the Dedication. This deputation presented to the Western emperor a creed which, although longer than the original, was essentially the same as that established at the council. [32] Regarding Athanasius, Constans wrote to Constantius, insisting that the bishop appeared guiltless and begging Constantius to restore him. Constantius refused, and with some justification. The deposition of Athanasius, right or wrong, had been accomplished by a Church council; and a secular ruler technically could not rescind such a decision.[33] Constans was resolved to settle the growing schism, and pressured Constantius with the need for an ecumenical council. Constantius agreed; and the Eastern bishops prepared to attend.[34]

The influence of the state in this matter is noteworthy. Earlier, when Julius had attempted to assemble an ecumenical council in Rome, the Easterners simply refused to come; and Julius, lacking a means of forcible coercion, had been unable to secure their attendance. But now that Constantius, who had the power to exercise such coercion, agreed to the council, the bishops made

29. *Chronicon acephalum*, 2, in *PG*, XXVI, col. 1443B; Socrates, II. 12, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 207A and B; Sozomen, III. 7, *ibid.*, col. 1047B and C; Stein, I, 209; and Duchesne, *Early History*, II, 170.

30. *Chronicon acephalum*, 2, *PG*, XXVI, col. 1143B; Socrates, II. 13, *ibid.*, LXVII, cols. 208C-209B; Sozomen, III. 7, *ibid.*, cols. 1049C-1052A.

31. Socrates, II. 16, *ibid.*, cols. 213C-217B; Sozomen, III. 9, *ibid.*, col. 1056A-D.

32. *Socrates*, II. 18, *ibid.*, cols. 221A-224B.

33. *Ibid.*, II. 20, col. 236A; and Hefele, I, 591.

34. Athanasius, *Apologia ad Imperatorem Constantium*, 4, in *PG*, XXV, col. 601A; Socrates, II. 20, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 236A; and Sozomen, III. 11, *ibid.*, col. 1060C.

preparations to participate.

The council was held the following year (343) in the city of Sardica in Il-
lyricum, chosen quite probably for its centralized location. Rather than recon-
ciling the differences of the Eastern and Western Churches, however, the
Council of Sardica succeeded only in deepening the schism. The Western bish-
ops arrived before the Eastern. Instead of awaiting the arrival of their Eastern
brethern, as they were supposed to do, they assembled immediately. In pre-
sence of Constans, the Westerners declared Athanasius and Paul innocent and
restored them to their respective sees.

The Easterners were understandably irritated. The original purpose of the
Council of Sardica had been to consider both sides of the controversy and es-
tablish a rapport between the two Churches. The Westerners, however, had
chosen to consider only their views and ignore the Eastern arguments comple-
tely. The Easterners consequently assembled at Philippolis in Thrace. They
wrote the Westerners, reminding them of the original agreement, and threat-
ening not to come to Sardica unless the restorations of Paul and Athanasius
were rescinded until the Easterners had been allowed to present their case.[35]

The East was at a distinct disadvantage. Constantius was presently involved
in a war with Persia and consequently unable to attend the council.[36] The
Eastern bishops therefore could not expect the moral support of their sove-
reign's presence until the Persian conflict was settled. On the other hand, the
West had the full attention and participation of Constans, the stronger prince.
The East was also lacking ecclesiastical leadership, as no bishop appears to have
replaced Eusebius' dynamic leadership of the Arian cause. The West, however,
was under the guidance of the venerable Hosius of Cordoba, who had led the
proceedings of the Council of Nicaea. Despite the apparent justification of
the East's complaint about the West's prejudicial conduct, the chances of ob-
taining the desired impartiality appeared slim.[37]

The Easterners nevertheless did come to Sardica, possibly at the urging of
Constantius, who understandably would not care to provoke Constans at this
moment. Once in the city, however, the Easterners assembled by themselves,
excommunicated Athanasius and Paul and their supporters, and withdrew to
the East. The Westerners merely deposed Gregory and the other principal fi-
gures of the eastern Church, and reaffirmed the Nicene Creed.[38]

Constantius, fresh from a victorious Persian campaign and hastening to
join the proceedings at Sardica, met the returning Eastern bishops at Adrian-
ople. He became bitterly annoyed at the conduct of the Westerners at
and at Adrianople, he banished that city's Nicene bishop and hanged ten labo-

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35. Socrates, II. 20, *ibid.,* col. 237A; Sozomen, III. 11, *ibid.,* cols. 1060C-1061A.
36. Athanasius, *Historia,* 16, *ibid.,* XXV, col. 712B.
37. *Ibid.,* 15, cols. 709C-712A.
38. *Ibid.,* 17, cols. 712D-713A.

rers for insulting the Easterners. He then forbade Paul and Athanasius from returning to their sees under penalty of death.[39] The Western Church sent to Constantius' court at Antioch two bishops—Vincent of Capua and Euphrates of Cologne—to persuade Constantius to withdraw this order. At this point, the Arians began to experience misfortune. Stephen, the Arian bishop of Antioch, attempted to implicate Euphrates in a sexual scandal. The plot was abortive and Stephen was quickly punished, he was deposed by a council of the suffragans of Antioch assembled at the request of Constantius, and then banished by the emperor. Nevertheless, Stephen's conduct could only relect badly on the Arian party, and could be easily used as anti-Arian propaganda. Although the council selected an Arian named Leontius as Stephen's successor,[40] the rapidity with which the affair was handled suggests that the Arians were on the defensive.

Shortly thereafter, the Arians received another blow to their prestige: two Arian bishops—Ursacius of Singidunum and Valens of Mursa—recanted their position before the bishop of Rome.[41] And finally, in 345, Gregory the Cappadocian died, and so the Arians could no longer deny that the See of Alexandria was vacant. Constans made use of this event to pressure Constantius with the threat of civil war to restore Paul and Athanasius. Constantius complied; he forbade the appointment of another bishop for Alexandria, and invited Athanasius to reassume his episcopal functions. When Athanasius did agree to return, Constantius ruled that he was to be accepted as the lawful bishop of Alexandria, and ordered that all official documents and pamphlets that degraded Athanasius or his followers should be destroyed.[42]

Athanasius had been restored to his see, much to the rejoicing of the Alexandrian populace. Technically, the Arians regarded him as still deposed by the Council of Tyre, while the Nicenes recognized him as restored by the Council of Sardica. In fact, however, his reinstallation had been accomplished by the emperor, without the reconciliation of the two factions. The recall of Athanasius, therefore, illustrates that the Church, which had come to depend upon the emperor to realize its policies, was by the same token ineffectual to oppose him when their attitudes differed.

The ascendancy of the Nicenes was to prove short-lived. So long as Constans was alive, Constantius was careful to maintain Athanasius in office; and the eastern Church, unable to oppose the will of its sovereign, was powerless

39. *Ibid.*, 18, col. 713B.
40. *Ibid.*, 40, cols. 716C-717B; Theodoret, II. 7-8, *ibid.*, LXXXII, cols. 1018C-1021A.
41. Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, 58, *ibid.*, XXV, col. 353B and C; *idem, Historia*, 26, *ibid.*, col. 124A; Socrates, II. 24, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 261C; and Sozomen, III. 23, *ibid.*, cols. 1105A-1108B.
42. Athanasius, *Historia*, 21, *ibid.*, XXV, cols. 717B and C; Socrates, II. 23, *ibid.*, LXVII, cols. 248B-249C and cols. 257B-261A; and Sozomen, III. 20, *ibid.*, col. 1099A.

to offer resistance. It was not until after the overthrow of Constans in 350 that opposition was once again directed against Athanasius and his adherents. In his promotion of Arianism during the period of his joint rule, Constantius followed to a large extent the precedents of Constantine. Constantius' implementation, however, was more forceful than his father's. Both engineered the removal from key sees of undesirable bishops whereby the bishops were deposed by councils and banished by the emperors. Constantius, however, was less concerned with proper procedure, it seems, than with final results. Consequently, he sanctioned the irregular consecration of Gregory in Alexandria and the installation in Constantinople of Macedonius despite that bishop's questionable behavior. Constantius, moreover, used military force to assure implementation of these irregular procedures.

Constans, in his support of the Nicenes, was nevertheless equally ruthless. He staunchly upheld the irregularity of the depositions of Athanasius and Paul, and even threatened civil war to achieve their restorations. But he also allowed the exclusion of the Easterners from the supposedly ecumenical Council of Sardica. These actions by the two sovereigns demonstrate that the Church was becoming increasingly subject to the religious persuasions of the emperors. That religious party which served the ruler's interest could depend upon his legal and military assistance. Such support enabled implementation of measures involving irregularities and violations of canon law.

Constans may have won the devotion of the Western Church with his ecclesiastical policy; but his actions as a secular ruler had quite the opposite effect on the remainder of his subjects. Discontent came to a head in 350, when a conspiracy of governmental officials accomplished the assassination of Constans and his replacement with a pagan usurper named Magnentius. Two years later, after a protracted and debilitating civil war, Constantius toppled Magnentius' power and made himself sole ruler of the entire empire.[43]

The overthrow of Constans deprived the Nicene cause of its imperial champion. Magnentius—presumably in opposition to Constantius—undertook to replace Constans in that capacity, and solicited the support of Athanasius and Paul.[44] But Magnentius, as a pagan and a usurper against the legitimate dynasty, could provide little advantageous support. His elimination removed his even marginal aid, and left the Nicenes with no secular recourse against Constantius.

The revolt of Magnentius seems to have preoccupied Constantius sufficiently to prevent much active intervention by him in ecclesiastical politics between 350 and 352. He refused to listen to appeals from the Eastern clergy

43. For the usurpation and subsequent overthrow of Magnentius, see Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, ed. I. Bekker, Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae (Bonn: impensis E Weberi, 1837), II. 42-50: pp. 107-18.

44. Athanasius, *Apologia ad Imperatorem Constantium*, 79, *PG*, XXV, col. 605C.

to reaffirm his sanction of the Council of Tyre. In a letter to Athanasius, Constantius reassured the bishop that the wishes of the deceased Constans would be upheld and Athanasius would always have Constantius' support. The governmental officials of Egypt received specific instructions to the same effect: Athanasius was to remain in his see unmolested.[45] Perhaps Constantius was trying to prevent his Arianization from being used against him by Magnentius.

Constantius did attend one council during the civil war. In 351, both Eastern and Western bishops assembled in Sirmium to examine for heresy the writings of that city's bishop Photinus. Arian-Nicene differences were momentarily abandoned in the desire to suppress the new heresy and prevent the already confused state of the Church's affairs from becoming futher complicated. The council determined the error of Photinus and deposed him; Constantius approved the decision and banished Photinus. The effect of Constans' loss on Nicene fortunes became apparent at the Council of Sirmium as the Arian cause began to prosper. Photinus was replaced by the Arian Germinius. The two recalcitrants Valens and Ursacius recanted their earlier repudiation of Arianism. And finally, the council adopted a version of the Dedication Creed.[46]

As the suppression of Magnentius' revolt and the prospect of Constantius' sole rule drew nearer, Athanasius' enemies sought increasingly to calumniate him to Constantius. Paul had died and so was no longer an obstacle to Arian success; but Athanasius was very much alive and protected by the government. During the winter of 351-52 Constantius was continually assailed with assurances that Athanasius had maligned him to Constans, and had concluded an alliance with Magnentius.[47] During the Easter festival in 352, the overcrowding of churches in Alexandria led Athanasius to hold services in a new and as yet undedicated church built by Constantius. Athanasius' enemies suggested that had the bishop any respect for Constantius at all, he would have waited until the emperor had dedicated the church before using it. Athanasius was coming to be represented as a threat to Constantius' person and power.[48]

Constantius now had an excuse to turn against Athanasius. Previously, he had been constrained by Constans' threats to retain Athanasius unmolested. Furthermore, a reversal of policy with no apparent justification might suggest that the emperor had been in error and thereby challenge the idea of the dominate's infallibility. Now, however, the representation of Athanasius as a threat to the well-being of the emperor justified Constantius' breach of his former commitments to the bishop.

The opportunity to do so soon presented itself to Constantius. A synod of

45. *Idem, Historia,* 24, *ibid.,* cols. 720-721A.
46. Socrates, II. 29-30, *ibid.,* LXVII, cols. 276B-292B.
47. Athanasius, *Apologia ad Imperatorem Constantium,* 6-9, *ibid.,* XXV, cols. 601D-608A; and Theodoret, II. 10, *ibid.,* LXXXII, col. 1024A.
48. Athanasius, *Apologia ad Imperatorum Constantium,* 14, *ibid.,* XXV, col. 612B-D.

eastern bishops, assembled at Antioch, wrote to the bishop of Rome, trying once again to obtain his support against Athanasius.[49] But at this time Julius died (353) and was succeeded by the Roman archdeacon Liberius.[50] Liberius considered the letter, and then suggested to Constantius the need for an ecumenical council to consider anew the Athanasian matter. Constantius responded with a small council convened at Arles in 353. Despite the efforts of the Roman legates, Constantius, who attended the council, won the majority to his persuasion, and Athanasius' deposition was again upheld.[51]

The details of the Council of Arles are not extant, so the number of known Arians in attendance is impossible to determine.[52] Significantly, it was the first council on Western soil to condemn Athanasius. Constantius, now sole ruler, was in a position to override any conciliar decision without recourse. The outcome of the Council of Arles may indicate that the bishops were responding to this fact.

Liberius continued to insist upon an ecumenical council.[53] Constantius, having achieved his objectives through the Council of Arles, was at first reluctant; but he finally assented, and the council was convened in Milan in 355. It was upposedly an ecumenical council, but was dominated by Westerners. The hardships of the journey and the physical infirmities of many bishops themselves prevented all but a very few of the invited Easterners from attending.[54] The council did not proceed as Liberius had hoped. Despite the Western, hence, Nicene, predominance—or perhaps because of it—Constantius opened the council with the words, "Whatsoever I will, that must be considered a canon. . . . Therefore, either you will obey, or you will be made exiles."[55]

Here was a precedent in Church-state relations. Constantius' declaration claimed for the emperor the authority to establish any ecclesiastical practice, and have it as binding on clergy and laity as if it were determined by a council. Heretofore, Constantius had followed Constantine's practice of influencing Church policy through implication. He had allowed the councils to make his intentions into formal canons, so that in theory Church policy originated in the councils. In fact, these conciliar activities were already under the control of the emperor, who could force acceptance of his wishes by intimidating

49. Sozomen, IV, 8, *ibid.,* LXVII, col. 1125B.

50. *Liber Pontificalis,* ed. L.M.O. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1886-1957), 207 (sec. XXXVII); and Sozomen, IV. 8, *PG,* LXVII, col. 1125.

51. Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicon,* II. 39. 2, in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* (Wien: apud C. Gerold dilium, 1866-), I, 92: Athanasius, *Historia,* 31, *PG,* XXV, col. 728B.

52. Piganiol, p. 106, n. 12.

53. Hilary, *Ex opere historico fragmentum,* V. 16, in *PL,* X, cols. 682A-686B.

54. Socrates, II. 36, *PG,* LXVII, cols. 300C-301B; Sozomen, IV. 9, *ibid.,* cols. 1128B-1129A; and Sulpicius Severus, II. 39. 3-8: I, 92-93.

55. Athanasius, *Historia,* 33, *ibid.,* XXV, col. 732C: 'Αλλ' ὅπερ ἐγὼ βούλομαι, τοῦτο κανὼν ... νομιζέσεν ... ''Η τοὐνυν πείσθητε, ἢ καὶ ὑπερόριοι γενήσεσθε.

the bishops. What, then, was the achievement of Constantius' new arrangement, whereby Church policy originated in theory as well as in practice with either the emperor or the councils? He had simply made a *de facto* arrangement a *de jure* one by fiat, thereby underscoring the strength of the emperor's control over the Church.

Noticeably, Constantius still demanded conciliar approval for his policy, even when he could have forced obedience thereto in spite of the Church. The conciliar sanction was merely a formality anyway because the bishops were acting under the compulsion of Constantius' threat of banishment. Perhaps Constantius felt that Church approval, however insincere, would give at least some ecclesiastical sanction to his unprecedented assumption of authority over Church affairs.

The Council of Milan was followed by the banishments of Athanasius' supporters, including Liberius, who was replaced by an elderly archdeacon named Felix.[56] Protest to Constantius insistence that his religious pronouncements were canonical was met with similar punishment. Hosius of Cordoba, who told Constantius that the emperor ought to stay out of spiritual matters, was sent to Sirmium to be pressured into accepting Arianism.[57] The objections raised by Hosius were echoed by Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, who was condemned by a synod summoned by the Caesar Julian.[58]

Despite the ruling of the Council of Milan and the imperial order for his exile, Athanasius managed to remain in Alexandria for another year; his immense popularity with the Alexandrian populace made his expulsion difficult. An imperial notary was dispatched to Alexandria to persuade the people that Athanasius was a traitor and had to be removed from power in the interests of the state. When this type of coercion failed, Constantius resorted to the employment of troops to harass the people. Athanasius finally fled, and was replaced at Constantius' order by another Cappadocian Arian named George (356).[59]

The Arians had, with the aid of Constantius, emerged as the dominant religious party. The creed that was in current use by that party was that of the Dedication Council. But now Valens, Ursacius and Germinius felt that this declaration was too vague and similar to the Nicene Creed to befit Arian domination. In a council assembled at Sirmium in 357, these three bishops ac-

56. *Ibid.*, 75, col. 784D. Socrates, II. 37, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 321A; and Theodoret, *toria*, 48, *ibid.*, cols. 752C-753A; and Sozomen, IV. 10, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 1136A and B.
57. Athanasius, *Historia*, 45, *ibid.*, XXV, col. 784C. The text of Hosius' letter to Constantius is in *ibid.*, 44, cols. 744D-748B.
58. Hilary, *Liber contra Constantium Imperatorem*, 2, in *PL*, X, col. 579A. Hilary's incriminating statement is in *Ad Constantium Augustum Liber Secundus*, 2, *ibid.*, col. 565A.
59. Athanasius, *Apologia de fuga sua*, 24, in *PG*, XXV, cols. 673C-676B; *idem, Historia*, 48, *ibid.*, cols. 752C-753A; and Sozomen, IV. 10, *ibid.*, LXVII, cols. 1136A and B.

complished the establishment of a new creed. It stated that the Father and
Son constituted a single God, that the Son was inferior to the Father, and
that the word "substance" was unscriptural and hence erroneous.[60] To give
force to their new creed, known as the Anomean doctirine, its promulgators
obtained the signatures of Hosius and of Liberius, who apparently yielded to
the pressures of Constantius.[61] Eudoxius. the new bishop of Antioch. sum-
moned a council to approve the Sirmium creed, thereby establishing an Ano-
mean party in the East.[62]

The Nicenes not surprisingly rejected the new formula;[63] but so did the
many Arians who subscribed to the more moderate view, known as the *Ho-
moiousian*, that the Father and Son were similar but not consubstantial.[64]
Early in the following year 358) a dedication council was summoned in Ancy-
ra by that city's bishop, Basil. This council condemned the Anomean doctrine
and then turned against Eudoxius as its leader in the East. Eudoxius was con-
demned for his Anomean adherence, accused of illegal seizure of the See of
Antioch, and implicated in a plot against the late Caesar Gallus.[65]

The Council of Ancyra sent a deputation to Constantius, who adopted Ba-
sil's position, whether out of preference for the *Homoiousian* view or out of
distaste for Eudoxius' conduct. Constantius withdrew his approval of Eudoxius'
succession to the Antiochene see, placed Eudoxius under house arrest, and ad-
vised the city's people to reject him and his followers or suffer the consequen-
ces. A creed essentially equivalent to that of the Dedication Council was rein-
stated as a temporary measure until another attempt could be made to estab-
lish a new Arian creed. The new formula would, of course be *Homoiousian;*
the Anomean position had been repudiated by Church and emperor.[66]

The deputation from the Council of Ancyra urged Constantius to restore
Liberius. The Romans had long been clamoring for the return of their bishop.
And now that Liberius had declared for Arianism, the emperor apparently re-
alized that by returning Liberius he would place in the See of Rome, that one
patriarchate in the Nicene West, a popular ecclesiastical figure who supported
the imperial religious policy. Liberius was restored to his see on the condition
that he and Felix should govern the Roman Church jointly; Constantius would

60. Athenasius, *Epistola*, 28, *ibid.*, XXVI, col. 741B; and Gwatkin, p. 161.
61. Athenasius, *Historia*, 41, *ibid.*, XXV, col. 741B, and 45, cols. 748C-749A; and
Sozomen, IV, 12. *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 1144A.
62. *Ibid.*, II. 12, col. 300A.
63. See the pamphlet of Phoebadius, *Contra Arianos*, in *PL*, XX, cols. 13C-30D;
Hilary, *De synodis*, 11, *ibid.*, X, cols. 487-A-489B.
64. Duchesne, *Early History*, II, 275.
65. Sozomen, IV. 13, *PG*, LXVII, col. 1145A and B; Philostorgius, *Historia ecclesias-
tica*, IV. 3, in *PG*, LXV, cols. 517C-520A.
66. Sozomen, IV. 14, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 1148A; Philostorgius, IV. 8, *ibid.*, LXV, col.
521A; and Duchesne, *Early History*, II, 232.

have caused a blow to imperial prestige by openly repudiating his own policy with the removal of Felix. The Roman populace dealt that blow anyway by driving Felix out of the city.[67]

Returning to the matter of the new Arian creed, Constantius at first planned on a single ecumenical council to establish the *Homoiousian* doctrine. But a council held at a single locale presented the old problem of a long and arduous journey for the mor distant bishops. Undoubtedly, Constantiu
journey for the more distant bishops. Undoubtedly, Constantius wanted the best possible attendance, to assure the most widespread acceptance of the new creed; and he quite probably recalled the absenteeism among the Eastern-ers at the Council of Milan. Therefore, he ordered that the Eastern bishops should meet at Seleucia in Isauria and the Westerners at Ariminum in Italy.[68] Early in the next year (359) the *Homoiousian* formulary was established at Constantius' court in Sirmium by a commission of bishops in consultarion with the emperor. This creed was then sent to each council for approval, after which each council was to send a delegation of ten prelates to meet with Con-stantius for the final ratification.[69]

Constantius had assumed the right to establish doctrine. As the determina-tion of doctrine was fundamentally a conciliar prerogative, Constantius' ac-tion seems a natural development of his attribution of canonical force to his own will. But again, he took special pains to assure conciliar approval. He eli-minated distance as an excuse for nonattendance; and he dispatched a govern-ment representative to each council with orders to use whatever coercion might be necessary to obtain the desired sanction. Coercion was indeed need-ed when the councils opened later the same year. The praetorian prefect Tau-rus, Constantius' representative to Ariminum, exiled those bishops who open-ly rejected the imperial creed; those undecided he penned in the town until they agreed to sign the formula.[70] Constantius' delegate to the Council of Se-leucia, the *quaestor sacri palatii* Leonas, was less forceful, with the result that a division grew up in that council immediately. The majority, under the lea-ership of Silvanus of Tarsus, decided to reject the Sirmium formulary and ad-opt that of the Dedication. Only some thirty-seven prelates, headed by Acaci-us of Caesarea, supported Constantius' creed.[71]

67. Socrates, II. 37, *PG*, LXVII, cols. 320D-321A; and Sozomen, IV. 15, *ibid.*, col. 1149D.
68. *Ibid.*, IV. 17, col. 1161A.
69. *Ibid.*, IV. 17, col. 1161A; and Gwatkin, p. 170.
70. Socrates, II. 37, *PG*, LXVII, cols. 512C-517A; and Sulpicius Severus, II. 41, 108: I, 94-95.
71. Athenasius, *Epistola*, 29, *ibid.*, XXVI, cols. 744B-745C; Socrates, II. 39, *ibid.*, LXVII, col. 336A and B; Sozomen, IV. 22, *ibid.*, col. 1180B; Hilary, *Liber*, 12, *PL*, X, col. 591A; Theodoret, II.22, *PG*, LXXXII, cols. 1064B-1065B; and Gwatkin, p. 177.

While the majority proceeded to sign the Dedication formula, the Acacians drew up a document in support of the Sirmium creed. This declaration was discussed by the entire council; but the party of Silvanus remained adamant. Leonas left Seleucia in disgust, commenting that he had been commissioned to attend a unanimous council. The Acacians likewise left for an audience with Constantius at Constantinople.[72]

To reconcile the differences raised by the Council of Seleucia, Constantius ordered a council to be held in the capital early in 360. Participants were the delegates from Ariminum, Seleucia and the party of Acacius. This council proceeded to condemn all who refused to accept the creed of Sirmium, which was formally approved as the Church's official statement of faith. Opposition met with the usual penalty of banishment.[73] The Council of Constantinople was the last to meet during the lifetime of Constantius. He perished of an illness in the following year (361) while *en route* from the Persian frontier to Constantinople, from where he planned to launch a campaign against the usurpation of Julian. Julian, who succeeded him, presented the Church with a novel problem—a pagan monarch.[74]

While sole ruler, Constantius insisted that the will of the emperor was the equivalent of a conciliar canon. Actually, This would appear to be the culmination of an increasingly caesaropist policy. Moreover, it may be observed that this same caesaropapist promotion of Arianism was the natural extension of Constantine's religious policy. Although he had been the driving force behind the Council of Nicaea, Constantine had shifted his sympathies in favor of the Arian position. Constantius' Arianization therefore perpetuated his father's attitude.

Furthermore, Constantine had dominated the formulation of Church policy, but had maintained the fiction of Church autonomy. Constantius, during his own reign, gradually stripped away this fiction. During his joint rule, Constantius continued to influence Church policy by implication, thereby retaining the apparent autonomy; but he demonstrated a disregard for the canonical accuracy of the procedures he supported. And his use of military force to insure implementation of those procedures demonstrated his intention to have them followed despite their inconsistency with canon law. Subsequently, during his sole rule—and, possibly, because he was free from the anti-Arian coercion of a Nicene co-emperor—Constantius further asserted the emperor's pre-

72. Socrates, II. 40, *PG*, LXVII, cols. 336C-345B; and Sozomen, IV. 23, *ibid.*, col. 1185B.

73. Athenasius, *Epistola*, 30, *ibid.*, XXVI, col. 745C; Socrates, II. 40, *ibid.*, LXVII, cols. 345C-348B; and Sozomen, IV. 24, *ibid.*, cols. 1188C-1193B.

74. Socrates, II. 47, *ibid.*, cols. 364C-365A; Sozomen, V. a, *ibid.*, col. 1209A; Theodoret, III. 1, *ibid.*, LXXXII, col. 1085A; Philostorgius, IV. 5, *ibid.*, LXV, col. 536C; and *Chronocon acephalum*, 8, *ibid.*, XXVI, col. 1145B.

rogatives in Church matters by equating the force of his wishes with that of a conciliar canon. Although this action did not alter the nominal power of the Church, it did eliminate the Church's apparent autonomy by placing the emperor on an equal footing as a policy-maker.

While the emperor had in fact been in virtual control of the Church since the reign of Constantine, under Constantius the nominal status of the ruler with respect to the Church was altered from one of a loyal supporter to that of an equal. It may be perhaps conjectured that, had Constantius lived longer, he would have dispensed even with the formality of conciliar approval of the Church policies which he in his own right established, and subsequently with the fictitious equality of the emperor with the Church.

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The Emperor and Ritual: Magic and Harmony

The Byzantine state has traditionally been regarded as one encased in ritu-al. We hear, in the very phrase "Byzantine ritual" the pompous but meaning-less hollow tones of rigid formulae, death-dealing in their cumbersome com-plexity, but upheld to the utter last by a dying and epicene court. We visual-ize the loathly files of eunuchs, the marshalled hordes of color-coded courti-ers, each bearing a title more obscure and ridiculous than the next. And at the head of all, the emperor, architect and captive of this dull and dreadful ma-chinery, pacing out his life like a demon ballet-master, detached from life, from reality, by the grim burden of ritual.

All this is out of Edward Gibbon by Aubrey Beardsley, and yet a fair number of such fantasies are still stuck in the popular or journalistic consciousness, and may yet be seen in more rarified circles. It is an unfortunate view, not on-ly because it is false and barbarous, but because it has a lingering effect of ma-king the Byzantinist tentative and apologetic about involving himself in re-search into the forms and modes, possibilities and permutations of ritual and the nature of the ritual process.[1]

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1. A survey of scholarly studies of Byzantine ritual has to begin with O. Treitinger's *Die östromische Kaiser- und Reischsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken*(Darmstadt: H. Gentner, 1956). This bril-liant treatment, however, limits itself to a particular area and problem, namely, the ex-pression of political fact and relationship in ritual disguise. Before and after Treitinger, those investigators who moved in this direction tended to take up for examination the most "political" of the rituals available—the Byzantine coronation ceremony—with the question foremost in mind as to whether this ceremonial expressed specific relationships between "Church and State" in East Rome. A prime question has been whether or not the ritual agreement of the patriarch was effective in legitimating the position of the By-zantine emperor. This is an important problem, not least because Professor Charanis, the inspirer of this volume, has been active here, in three early articles :"The Imperial Crown Modiolus and Its Constitutional Significance," *Byzantion*, 12 (1397), 189-95; "The Crown Modiolus Once More," *ibid.*, 13 (1938), 377-83; and "Coronation and Its Consti-tutonal Significance in the Later Roman Empire," *ibid.*, 15 (1941), 41-66. But a concen-tration on coronation insures a complete view of only one side of the Byzantine state-ritual, however important or valuable individual studies may have been.

Approaching the broad problem of ritual from another side has produced such treat-ments as R. Guilland's "La cérémonie de la Προσκυνήσις, *"Revue des études grecques,* 59/60 (1946-47), 251-59, rpt. in his *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines.* Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für griechische-römische Altertumskun-de. Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten, Band 35 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967), pp. 144-50. In the very large number of individual studies of ranks and offices in the Byzantine bureaucratic hierarchy written by Guilland, he includes a considerable amount of peri-pheral information and comment on ritual occasions.

But there are more serious difficulties having to do with the ramifications of any probe into the area of ritual. The historian who undertakes such a probe quickly encounters—if he was not already conscious of—the *forêt sauvage*, tangled certainly and hostile perhaps, of theoretical constructs developed in other fields and disciplines. He is forced, like it or not, into a series of confrontations which require the reestimation of the problematic itself, or at least the acceptance of the presence of a more complex problematic.

(a) The problem *au fond* has to do with the definition of myth and of ritual, or more precisely with interrelated definitions which have emerged in the course of the penetration of, especially, the cultures and religious expressions of the Near East (where the objective examples are most clearly outlined and available) by such scholars as are included in the "school" of S.H. Hooke. I note here, as acceptable and workable, Hooke's definition of ritual as "that which was done," and of myth as "that which was spoken," the two connected by a magical and symbolic relationship, so that by the "word of power" a situation of primary importance was re-created.[2]

In the Byzantine context, the acceptance of such a definition leads necessarily to a two-stage redaction of the data—the very large amout of data—available. The first redaction allows the interpreter to perceive a true ritual in a minutely described ceremonial—i.e., to penetrate to the syntax of the ritual (expressed in processional activities, the use of light, the concealment or revelation of key figures, and so on); in a second stage, the mythic event or type recreated by the effective ritual, is then revealed.[3]

Example of "visualized" ritual, a most important source, are also to be found, and are specifically treated in A. Grabar's invaluable *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin. Recherches sur l'art officiel de L'empire de l'orient* (Paris: Les "Belles lettres," 1936).

2. S.H. Hooke, *In the Beginning* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), p. 18, quoted and elaborated upon in G. Widengren, "Myth and History in Israelite-Jewish Thought," in *Culture and History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin*, ed. S. Diamond (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1960), pp. 466-67.

3. Looking briefly only at the mythic underpinning or reflexes related to the Byzantine imperial office, we have the Order-Creating Founder—Constantine the Great—as he emerges in a number of guises, including the reincarnate. In the *De administrando imperio*, Constantine's namesake uses him as a combination of Primal Magician and bogeyman. See Constantine Prophyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, and trans. R J.H. J enkins, Magyar-Görög Tanulmányok (Budapest: Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetemi Görög Filolfgiai Intézet, 1949), 13 :pp. 67 ff. The myth (properly speaking, the *mythologem*) of the "humble made great" is seen in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *Vita Basilii*, in Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1838), bk. V, with a full armory of signs and portents. There is a reflex of the mythologem of the "innocent or ignorant King" in the *Digenes Akritas*, ed. and trans. J. Mavrogordato (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 133, lines 2050 ff.—a very popular theme in aristocratic-epic literature, as for example in the Serbian Moslem materials gathered by M. Perry and M.B. Lord, *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs* (Cambridge, Mass., and Belgrade, 1954-), I, 70, 81, 85, and 285. This theme of the king in need of instruction is also seen in Byzantine hagiography, *vide* the *Vita Danielis* in *Les saints stylites*, ed. H. Delahaye, Subsidia Hagiographica 14 (Brux-

(b) The researcher must also accept the presence, in the society and cul-
ture (the *topos*) which he has in view, of a distinct and identifiable mythopo-
eic attitude and function: a mode of explanation and declaration continuous-
ly present and apparent. This mythopoeic mode has a combined sacred-secu-
lar dimension (that is, there is an interpenetration of the two realms) and, is
an important part of the specific formation and formulation of the thought-
world of the *topos*. The adjective "primitive" may be used to describe the
mythopoeic mode, without derogation, but "archaic" or "traditional" are
more apposite.[4]

(c) The problem of history and of historicity emerges from the study of
ritual in the process of decoding or deciphering it, and may cause much an-
guish, probably needlessly. The problem has to do either with the recovery of
overt historically-identifiable events, or with hidden events which again, may
be recovered and which—owing to their concealment—may modify our view
of the structure of the myth itself. There should not be, in any event, a forced
"logical" separation of history/truth from myth/falsehood—not unless serious
damage is to be done to the integrity of the myth-creating intelligence or fac-
ulty itself.[5]

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elles and Paris: Société des Bollandistes, 1923), p. 35, cap. 38; and translated in N.H.
Baynes and Elizabeth Dawes, *Three Byzantine Saints· Contemporary Biographies Trans-
lated from the Greek* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1948),p. 29. Research into Byzantine hagio-
graphy should produce a variety of "myths of political power." By the same token,
chronographic historians (such as Theophanes) should be closely examined for the same,
or a similar, mind-set.

4. As an introduction to the problem of the definition of the mythmaking mentali-
ty, see P.S. Cohen, "Theories of Myth," *Man*, NS, 4 (1969), 337-53; and G.S. Kirk, *Myth:
Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures*, Sather Classical Lectures, vol.
40 (Cambridge: Univ. Press, and Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1970).

5. The problem of historicity of mythic (or, in other contexts, epic or folkloric) mate-
rials and *exempla* has probalby caused as much difficulty for investigators as any other
aspect of the study of the pasts of societies under scrutiny. Although the conclusions
are often attained after the most arduous labor, the most restrained approach to the
problem tries to extract something—anything—historical (that is, provable according to
the canons of orthodox historiography) from the pieces of evidence examined. This is a
legitimate enterprise, but I believe that, in the end, the more accurate reconstructive in-
terpretation must recognize the problem as one of identifying cognitive and expressive
modes in a total context.

The argument has gone on interminably, and has had as its focus whole ranges of
evidence emerging from our "Western" civilization. Homer and History has been a pe-
rennial theme, especially in the internecine warfare between unitarians and analysts—i.e.,
between those who perceived the poet to be an individual creator and those who saw
"him" as a collectivity. The latter were nearly triumphant in G. Murray's *The Rise of the
Greek Epic: Being a Course of Lectures Delivered at Harvard University*, 4th ed. (Lon-
don: Oxford Univ. Press, 1934), and were then laid low by the field researches into epic
composition of Perry and Lord (see above n. 3). The guns have by now pretty much fall-
en silent in this salient : see W. Schadewaldt, *Vom Homers Welt und Werk*, 2nd ed. (Stutt-
gart: K. F. Koehler, 1952), pp. 10-35, for an account of the cumulative positions of the
analysts; for a difinitive exposition of the unitarian position, see C.H. Whitman, *Homer
and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958). The process of epic

(d) The student of Byzantine "myth and ritual" must also be aware of the definitions and uses of these phenomena adopted by such disciplines as folkloristic studies, the psychosociological analysis of literature generally and, more deeply, the analysis of culturally-bound cognitive systems revealed in language—in the linguistic formulations—as final and imperative determinants of how a theme can be, or must have been, perceived and described.[6]

(e) The researcher needs to know something of how mythic themes may be looked at in the extensive dimension—i.e., in reference to such problems as the relationship of folkloric incidents to mythic types, or of the reminiscence of these themes or types in the literatures (including the oral literatures) of different societies. He also now has before him the major structural systems which attempt to develop a "deep" dimension in, and substantially to reconstruct or reorder, the human data wherever found. Myth as a conscious or unconscious cognitive system has thus attracted the serious attention of such psychoanalytic anatomists as Freud, C.G. Jung, and their disciples both orthodox and heterodox. Myth is now also being profoundly reconsidered in the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, by his interpreters, and by a number of anthropologists reacting, often violently, to Lévi-Straussian *edicta*. The reverberative effects of the structures noted have been widely felt, and no student of the specific Byzantine situation and its data can remain unaware of these effects for long.[7]

creation and repetition is brilliantly described in A.B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (New York, 1968). Withal, the presence of "history" in non-historical materials still possesses some fascination: as one example of many, see S. Skendi, "The Songs of the Klephts and the Hayduks—History or Oral Literature?," in *Serta Slavica: In Memoriam Aloisii Schmaus* (München, 1971), pp. 666-73.

    The Byzantine epic has received this sort of attention, specifically by Henri Grégoire : see the bibliography in *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 10 (1950), lii-liii (=Mélanges Henri Grégoire, II). See also J . Mavrogordato in his Introduction to the *Digenes Akritas:* and R. Jacobson, "H. Gregoire, investigateur de l'epopée," *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, 1 (1946), 20-22.

    6. See especially the use of material from folklore, epic and myth by Georges Dumézil, as illustrated in C. Scott Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology: An Anthropological Assessment of the Theories of Georges Dumézil*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley and London : Univ. of California Press, 1974). For the psychosociological dimension of folklore, see J . L. Fischer, "The Sociopsychological Analysis of Folklore," *Current Anthoropology*, 4, no. 3 (1963), 235-95, with an extensive bibliography. For the most important practitioners of a linguistic analytic as applied to anthropological materials, see *Myth, Symbol, and Culture*, ed. C. Geertz (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974).

    7. Sigmund Freud's own hyperrationalism kept him from examining the nature of myth (except in sharp reaction to Karl Jung's "irrationality" and "mysticism," and note S. Freud, *The Future of an Illusion* (London and New York: L. & Virginia Woolf. . . , 1928), *passim*; and *idem, Civilization and Its Discontents*   (New York: W. W. Norton, 1962), chs. 1 and 2. A Freudian theory of myth-and-dream as unified psychic expressions is best set forth by G. Roheim, *The Gates of the Dream* (New York: International Univ. Presses, 1969), pp. 4 23-92.

All this is being said in aid of laying out a theoretical substrate, and in terms of outlining some of the problems inherent in such a process. The present paper, presented in honor of Peter Charanis, the scholar who first revealed to me the rich possibilities for research contained in the *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae,* hopes to bring forward methods, and to suggest conclusions, leading to a fuller understanding of the ritual aspect and operations of the Byzantine imperial office.

The Historical Dimension of the Emperor in Ritual

Explanations as to how the ritual aspect of the Byzantine imperial office developed are still imperfect and oblique, to say nothing of simplistic and downright silly. The most simplistic view would connect the "ritualized" emperor with the Orient, and so see this form finally triumphant over the manly and reasonable Roman projection of Augustus and Imperator; the addition of Christianity simply intensifies the influence of this unfortunate Orient.[8] Our further research into and understanding of the Hellenistic monarchic form as a political type has enabled a more sophisticated view, and so we may see that the "intrusive." Diocletianic *versement* of the third century was a more solid and more obsessive, but not a unique, exemplification of the sovereign acting in and through ritual.[9] In the fourth and fifth centuries the imperial office continued to waver and to experiment, concerned especially with the complex and potentially explosive interaction of secular political power with the Christian mythos.[10] Then, following the autumnal Romanizing of Justinian, came the last titanic struggle with Persia, the calamity of Islam's advance, and in the early years of the seventh century a Byzantine thoughtworld is "suddenly" perceptible and real.

For C. G. Jung and his formulation of *Archetype,* see his *Collected Works: Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious,* Bollingen Series, 20 (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1968-), IX, pt. 1; also J. Jacobi in *Complex, Archetype and Symbol in the Psychology of C. G. Jung,* Bollingen Series, 20 (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970). In addition to such major studies as his *Structural Anthropology,* trans. C. J acobsen and B.G. Schoepf (New York, 1963), Lévi-Strauss's analysis of myth is well-drawn in his "La Geste et As-diwal," now translated and criticized in *The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism,* ed. E. R. Leach (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967). Also note in Kirk, ch. 2: "Lévi-Strauss and the Structural Approach."

8. The attitude of Gibbon is well-known. See also T. Frank, *A History of Rome* (New York: H. H. Holt & Co., 1923), pp. 553ff.

9. On the question of Diocletian and the Dominate, see A.H.M.J ones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social Economic and Administrative Survey,* 3 vols. (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1964), I, 37-76, and III, 2-10, with comments on the alleged "Persification" which Diocletian undertook to institute in the state ritual. Cf. A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchges., 1970).

10. An example of this politico-religious interaction is dealt with in my "The Emperor and the Stylite : A Note on the Imperial Office," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review,* 15, no. 2 (1970), 207-12.

Within this Byzantine mentalitiy a central image is that of the *autokrator kai basileus* himself, turning his powerful iconic gaze directly on the world, stiffened and disciplined, raising up the ritual gestures of dominance and power, in the face of the actuality of physical danger from Arabs, Slavs, and too many others. That Byzantium seems to set its base-tone in centuries which are nearly empty so far as reliable historical treatments are concerned, is made more perverse and mysterious in that the same centuries must have seen the florescence and elaboration of that ritual consciousness, and ritual process, which is seen fully developed in Constantine VII's great collection of the tenth century. The peak of imperial power is reflected in the supply of information about the imperial ritual. Thereafter, in the period of the Crusades, the witnesses of ;he West tell us that the stately pomp of the court was derided by the virile and rapacious Franks. The impact and influence of the great ritual dramaturgy nevertheless contined to be felt by the *ethnoi* up to the end of the empire—and certainly the Byzantines did their best to follow and replicate the old powerful formulae. But the collapse, political and economic, of the imperial center, after the disastrous impact of internal weakness and foreign domination, had its effect even on the stage-setting of the ritual, and certainly ate away at the resources necessary to sustain its elaborate forms. At the end, the last emperor and the last Constantine, Dragazes, had little more of ceremony to lift up his last days in his doomed and emptied city but that provided by the Church.

Yet throughout most of the more than one thousand years of its existence the subjects of the Byzantine state lived and experienced the ritual of that state, especially in its focal city, and outsiders observed and commented on it with awe and envy. It remained an intrinsic part of the operation of the imperial office, with a wide spectrum of types and forms, *loci* and scenarios, prime actors and extras and supporting casts. The greatest of the ritual actors was the emperor himself, just as the chief stage for his ritual play was the Imperial City and, within it, the great palace and the great cathedral and their extensions and environs. It is the emperor's part and place in Byzantine ritual that this study has in view, and specifically his place in the intricate and crucial balancing process, of ritual as showing and reflecting particular powers, and also working to harness, control, and harmonize these powers.

Ritual: Definitions and Analyses

A definition of ritual emphasizes the "mirroring" or reflective aspect of the act: the ritual reflects plans or patterns which have a cosmic force, placement, and significance. An ordered universe is recapitulated by the ordering of the ritual process: the sempiternal patterns of creation and continuation are repeated in such express ritual acts as coronation ("foundation"), celebrations of victory (the "triumph over chaos"), processional rituals (the "control of space"), ceremonies of ranking and of naming (the continuous "iden-

tification of the parts of the ordered world") and many others. More, as has already been suggested, these rituals are not merely to be regarded as reflective, in the passive sense, but as effective: as necessary to the continued existence of the cosmic patterns which they identify. Within this definition, the ritual clarifies itself in a series of symbolic/metaphoric images, some more and some less complex and subtle, sometimes equipped with "historical" citations or connections. As an·example, what might be called a metaphoric phylum is idenitified in rituals which rest on the theme of light: the emperor appearing displayed as Sun (and as "creator of dawn"), as source of Light and Life intertwined, as illuminated by the *polykandela*/Tree of Life, as costumed in and prodigal of gold metaphorized as Life and Light; and all these images have, we infer, their historical associations with Near Eastern traditions which were originally Iranian, then Judaean-Semitic, with probable accretions and additions from the powerful theological imagery of the neo-Platonist Alexandrian Fathers and their successors in Constantinople and elsewhere.[11]

The concept of "mirroring" is, however, complicated by the necessity of calculating the temporal formula implicit in the ritual act. Even the most archaic-fundamental "events" recapitulated in ritual must be thought of as occuring in time. In some cases (as in the foundation of a cosmic order, the "separation of earth and sea from Chaos") time itself is created, and is counted or operates as a reality from the moment of creation.[12] Now, to bring a tentative and perhaps excessive simplicity into play, the new-created time may be viewed as possessing one of three patterns of movement or destination. (a) In the moral-psychological pattern—the chief and most familiar exponent of which, in the Greek tradition, would be Hesiod—the "perfection" of original creation is diminished as time moves or descends through increasingly imperfect layers or stages, from Gold to Silver and on to the decrepit and agonized Present.[13] (b) In the objective-linear view—that of common experience—time, or "history," is an ineluctable force which simply moves. Without lesson or meaning, without ethos or morality, it brings age and death, tears down the fabric of the present, is blind, arbitrary, senseless. Despite the fact that we call this view that of "common experience," it is true that humankind has had great difficulties with this temporal pattern, often rejects it, and has in-

11. G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion (King and Saviour IV)*, Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift, 1951, 4 (Uppsala: Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1951); R. Patai, *Man and Temple in Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual* (London and New York: T. Nelson, 1947).

12. M. Eliade, "Sacred Time and Myths," in his *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion,* trans. W. R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), pp. 68-113.

13. On Hesiod and the Golden Age, see e.g., F.E. and F.P. Manuel, "Sketch for a Natural History of Paradise," in Geertz, pp. 83-128.

stead substituted (c) The pattern of ritualized time (sacral time), of the Great Return which regenerates, heals, re-creates, bringing the player-observers back to "that time"—*illo tempore*—when the original curing and ordering of the cosmos took place.[14]

Mircea Eliade's well-known thesis takes the position that (c) above—the "myth of the Eternal Return"—is a specific and necessary reaction to (b), that is, to time-and-history as empty and purposeless, but inevitably destructive, progression. In this view, a sacral time is created in which the disparate ritual acts have their genesis, and the replication of these acts, transformed into whatever symbolic-metaphoric equivalences, recreates the *illo tempore*, reconnects the actors and observers to and immerses them in, the vital sacral environment, and thus negates the destructive force of secular (ordinary) time.[15]

Accepting this used and definition of ritual, modifying as it does the position of Hooke already put forward, obviously cannot exhaust the wider uses, the "pragmatic" dimension, of the ritual process by the Byzantines. It cannot be doubted, for instance, that the ceremonial occasion identified in the *De ceremoniis* as the "Reception of the Saracen Friends," among others of the

14. M. Eliade, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* ((New York: Harper, 1959).

15. The pattern described by Eliade is certainly amendable, specifically to allow the intrusion or insertion of change, of a new historical reality. This results in the "rectification" of both ritual and, possibly, the base-myth. So, in the Byzantine exemplification of the ritual type termed the Reception of Strangers, the original *mythologem* describes the recognition and incorporation of extraneous or exotic elements—part of the overarching myth of the "ordering of the cosmos." But the actual and even datable ritual called, in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. I. I. Reiske, 2 vols., Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1829-30), II. 15 : 594 ff. : "Another Reception, of Helga of Ros," introduces a peculiar annex to the normal ceremony of reception. This addition seems to "feminize" one segment of the ceremony, by presenting the Kievan Grand Duchess Olga and her retinue to the empress, her daughter-in-law, and the assembled wives of the Ranks of the Court. The usual *questiones* asked by the imperial Chamberlain (which identified the oecumenical placement of the visitor, though the wording of the question seemed to simply refer to the health of the visitor or of the princes who ruled in the visitor's land) were asked in the name of the *augusta,* not the emperor. This segment was, however, surrounded by *acta* of much the same sort as in a normal reception; for instance, a state dinner and an interview with the *basileus.*

It is suggested, e.g. by J. Z. Smith, "A Pearl of Great Price and a Cargo of Yams: A Study in Situational Incongruity," *History of Religions*, 16 (1976), 1-19, esp. p. 8, that certain incongruities or inconsistencies in descriptions of particular myths or rituals signal a reaction to anomalies introduced into the basal structure of myth/ritual, anomalies which are the product of historical circumstance, and which must be denatured and "cured." In the case of the "Emperor" Irene, the Byzantines rejected the idea that the imperial office could be occupied by a woman (identified as such, and as sole ruler). The *ethnoi* might have other customs, but the possession by a woman of true political power gave the Byzantines pause; their reaction to this anomaly was to conflate the regular ritual of reception, in which Helga/Olga was included with others—including her son, Sviatoslav—as "the rulers of the Ros," with a special ceremony identifying and incorporating the Kievan princess into the "ranks of women."

type, utilized the processional aspect of this "greeting" ritual to attempt to produce a powerful propagandistic impact, involving as it did a Grand Tour of the Palace, a series of shifting or mosaic displays of place, furniture, and small ceremonies, the elaborate use of *son-et-lumière*, and the manipulation of brilliantly robed and equipped courtiers in a dance-of-power, a *Hoftanz* of the highest ranks of the imperial retinue.[16] The final act, an imperial state dinner, shows perfectly the conflation of political and of ritual purposes and effects. The dinner itself should be seen—probing into the syntax of ritual—within the type of the sacral and identity-forming and consolidating meal.[17] The gold dishes which are said to be handed over to the "Friends" at its conclusion fall easily into the category of potent and status-creating gifts, as these gifts have been interpreted by Marcel Mauss and others, and connect the occasion to the grand tradition of the potlatch and all other gift-giving rituals.[18] This ritual occasion is thus recreated and recognized as it should be: particularized and political-rational—seeking that impact on the stranger which comes from visible power, manifest wealth, the perceptible willingness to display and broadcast this wealth—and also attached to the most archaic patterns of significant symbolic movement, event, and mime, of feasting and gift-giving, of identification and the exchange of identity, of honoring and demanding honor.

Yet another example of the multiform utility of ritual—the combination of conscious and unconscious ends, of organization and of metaphoric image and connection—is revealed in the Byzantine ceremonies of investment, expecially when these ceremonies have as principal player someone from the *ethnoi*, the plural (and consequently disorganized) world beyond the *oecumene*. Undoubtedly the use of investment was a powerful weapon in the Byzantine armory of diplomatic techniques, fixing as it did the "honored" foreigner into the recognizable hierarchy of rank, and thus identifying him (or her) within that cosmos explicity created by the emperor.[19] The elaboration of a network of imperial symbols of state depended on rituals of honor and placement: through them the attractive or magnetic current of unification was

16. *De ceremoniis*, chap. 15. ii: pp. 583 ff.
17. For a treatment of "incorporative" meals, as well as other aspects of the meal as social ritual, see Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," *Daedalus*, 101 (1972), 61-81, now reprinted in Geertz, pp. 61-81. An even wider net is spread in C. Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked: An Introduction to a Science of Mythology* (New York, 1970-), I.
18. M. Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954).
19. The basic studies by F. Dölger, "Die 'Familie der Könige' im Mittelalter," in his *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal: Buch Kunstverlag, 1953), pp. 34-69; G. Ostrogorsky, "Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 8 (1936), 95-187; and *idem*, "The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order," *Slavonic and East European Review*, 35 (1956), 1-14, are well known. See also D.A. Miller, "Byzantine Treaties and Treaty-Making," *Byzantinoslavica*, 32 (1971), 56-76.

maintained, and the scope and effect of original and perpetual cosmesis was enlarged.

Finally, we can see that ritual displays, both processional and static, very often had as audience the Constantinopolitan citizenry, and were arranged so as to create a variety of effects on and reactions from this audience. What these effects and reactions were we have to reconstruct on the basis of what we can know, or can intuit, about the mentality of the population of the imperial city. We are reasonably sure that this population was not, in fact, merely an audience—i.e., passive receptors of the signs and gestures projected by high-ranking actors. The orchestration of *responsa* drew the citizens into the rhythm of statement and acclamation, and reinforced the vital component of mutual support and unity: we hear the alternation, for example, in certain "victory" ceremonies, of the acclamation "glory (or victory) to the Romans" and "glory (or victory) to the emperor of the Romans."[20] Such an alternation must make clear the synecdochal connective set up between People and Leader. A close analysis of the great number and variety of ritual responses will undoubtedly show the careful and subtle control exercised over the masses, as viewers of and participators in the cycles of ritual. But there was more. Explicit in those rituals, performed in public, was the display of both power and wealth, specifically emphasized and declared. We may have come here to the most shallow level of ritual impact, but an impact not made less important by this admission. The showing-forth of rich costume and precious artifact, the repetition of potent gestures, the massing of weapons and banners— all these constituted the clearest signs of dominance and control, and yet also proclaimed that *richesse* which was confidently expected to eventuate in *largesse*. In a fashion not quite comprehensible to modern minds, the display of wealth in ritual was a form of "redistribution."[21]

The examples of the ancillary uses of ritual given here by no means exhausts the subject. A more complete analysis would hardly avoid the very large category of ceremonies specifically connected to the Christian calendar, where the participation of emperor and court directly underlined the relationship of the imperial power to the Christian mythos. At this point, however, it is necessary to pass on to an explication of the use and nature of ritual as a specific dimension of kingship.

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20. *De ceremoniis*, cap. 19. ii, pp. 609-10 and 612-15.

21. On the concept of "redistribution," see K. Polanyi. C.M. Arensberg, and H.W. Pearson, eds., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), specifically Polanyi's "The Economy as Instituted Process," pp. 250 ff. For a contrary view of Polanyi's theories, see S. Cook, "The Obsolete 'Anti-market' Mentality': A critique of the Substantive Approach to Economic Anthropology," *American Anthropologist,* 68 (1966), 323-45, which is violent but not, to my mind, totally convincing.

The King's Left Hand

The place of the Byzantine monarch in a general theory of ritual process and efficiency depends on an understanding of the bivalence of this—or of any "traditional"—kingly office. Many of the components which go to make up this bivalence are not hidden, so much so that it is sometimes easy to identify them, even as clichés, without realizing the deeper significance of the totality. It seems clear, for instance, that the title which was boasted by the "classic" Byzantine ruler (that is, after the early seventh century) contained a kind of dual operation, if not a dual nature: that the autocrat was defined in legal and administrative terms, while the *basileus*—a more ambiguous form—appeared to project a vaguer, less defined potency, and perhaps one more magical, or magic-working, than "real."[22]

The whole question is confused, rather than clarified, by the injection into it of such terms as *charisma* and of charismatic leadership, especially following the lines laid down by Max Weber. The Weberian analysis described the activities of the leader as either logical and rational, or as irrational in form and effect—i.e., as charismatic, partaking of magical, gestural, and non-defined but powerful acts and signs.[23] The difficulty with this analysis is that it puts forward an either/or opposition; the leader operates either in one zone or the other. A better perception, in my opinion, is that the monarch of the type shared by the Byzantine emperor operates, and must operate, in *both* zones: more, that the charismatic character is in fact enhanced and reinforced by precisely this bivalent operation. Charisma is here better defined as anomaly, rather than "irrationality," and more will be said on this point.

The model for a genuinely bivalent monarchic office was most precisely conceived by George Dumézil. In Dumézil's theory, the sovereign contains within himself two currents or valences: the *Mitral*, by which is meant magisterial, law-based, rational and administrative force, and the *Varunal*, which projects magical and mysterious—but creative—force.[24] Dumézil has since pursued these dual images into areas far removed from their Vedic origins, identifying in Scandinavia, for example, epical and mythic materials with a

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22. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State,* Rutgers Byzantine Series (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1957), p. 95 and n. 2 Ostrogorsky rejects the idea that the title of *basileus* was assumed to signalize the final defeat of Persia, but I am not completely overcome by his argument.

23. M. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion,* trans. E. Fischoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), s.v., and pp. xxxiii-xxxiv: see S.N. Eisenstadt, ed., *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers* ((Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968). Weber is most concerned with the charismatic figure in a religious context, but not exclusively so. For a continuation and a critique of Weber's concept of charisma, see W. Stark, *The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom,* Vol. IV: *Types of Religious Man* (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1966-).

24. G. Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna. Essai sur deux repreésentations indocuropeénnes de la souveraineté* (Paris: Gallimard, 1948).

parallel construction which he has termed kingship of the Aesiric (or Oðinnic) type, and kingship of the Vanic type (the type of Freyr or Freya, although other divinities are mixed into this mysterious classification, including the "trickster-god" Loki).[25]

If we set aside the less immediate difficulties raised by Dumézil's wider theoretical net (including the ambiguity of the "Oðinnic" mode of kingship, centered as it is on a god-figure who often moves far into the realm of magical force and potency), the most troublesome aspect of his construction is simply that it depends from a cultural-linguistic identification which is exactly *Indo-European*. In the specific case of the Byzantine imperial office, the traditions which blend into it are complex and various, and to this date no scholar, to my knowledge, has tried to show that the final meld was dominated or predominately shaped by an Indo-European socio-cultural-linguistic *mentalité*.[26]
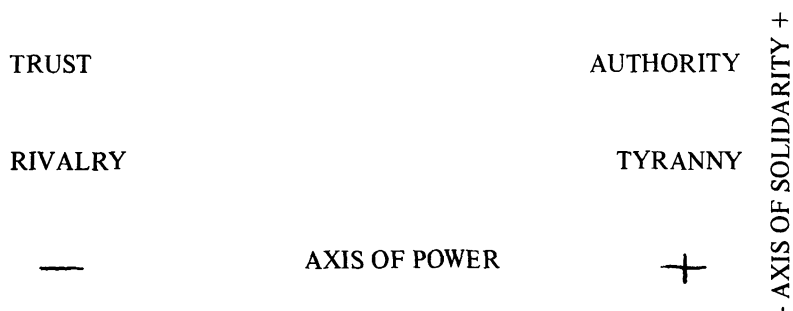
Let us pursue the bivalent imperial office along slightly different lines. In dealing with primary relationships involving power or dominance (and accession to this dominance), and to clarify these relationships, political anthropology has originated the following quadratic matrix:[27]

25. *Idem, From Myth to Fiction: The Saga of Hadingus*, trans. D. Coltman (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1973); and *idem, Loki, Les Dieux et les hommes* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1948), I.

26. The theoretical compnents of the Byzantine imperial office—as of the civilization it commanded—in fact have a dominant "Indo-European" coloration, that is, if considered in sum. The Roman tradition represented such a connection, and the ancient legendry of Rome provided Dumézil with many of his most fruitful examples: see, e.g. his *Juppiter, Mars, Quirinus. Essai sur la conception indo-europeénne de la société et sur les origines de Rome,* La Montaigne Sainte-Geniviève, 1 (Paris: Gallinard, 1941), and the bibliography in *Hommages à Georges Dumézil,* Collection Latomus, 45 (Bruxelles, 1960), pp. xi-xxii. The language of culture and administration in the empire was Greek (and in the Greek mythic area Dumézil found the data most resistant to his theories of Indo-European forms, especially as regards his view of the dominating tripartite division of the socio-political body. The Iranian element introduced to East Rome before and after Heraclius represented a third possible source of Indo-European influence, both in terms of political imitation and of mythic connections. However, such simple figurations cannot deny the very important presence, in Byzantium as well as in the earliest imperial formations of the Near and Middle East, of Semitic or other non Indo-European influences. The basic formulation of kingship in this area began with a Mesopotamian core, with a later Semitic (Akkadian) recension, thereafter passed through the various conquest-peoples and passed on to peripheral territories which (in the case of the Judaic kingdom) might provide a type of power much more significant to the Byzantine circustance, because of the mythized (properly, figural) connection to a later Christian imperial mode, than the physical size of the kingdom itself might indicate.

The point here is either that the bivalent aspect of the Byzantine imperial office is a reflection or result of a collectivity of Indo-European dispositions—Roman, Greek, Iranian, even Armenian—or that this bivalency has no specific Indo-European character and connection, but a more general and transcultural nature. The latter seems more likely to be true.

27. Taken from F.G. Bailey, "Gifts and Poison," in his *Gifts and Poison: The Politics of Reputation* (New York: Schocken, 1971), p. 15..

TRUST   AUTHORITY

RIVALRY   TYRANNY

＿   AXIS OF POWER   ┼

AXIS OF SOLIDARITY +

- AXIS OF SOLIDARITY

In this set, the presumption is that the lower pair represent minimal solidari-
ty, and the top pair maximal solidarity (meaning authenticity, continuation).
The lefthand pair represent less power, or power diffused through a number
of individuals; the right-hand pair represents the coalescence of power into or
onto one recipient. The righthand pair holds our attention here; especially
the quadrant labelled "tyranny." Tyranny is power *unagreed-to*; Aristotle
termed it power without law.[28] It is unstable, but—for its moment—potent.
Taking this matrix, and leaving the righthand quadrants intact, let us substi-
tute other values or powers on the left-hand side, and rename the axes.

RITUAL   MAGISTRACY

MAGIC   *VIS*

＿   AXIS OF CLARITY   ┼

AXIS OF CONTROL +

- AXIS OF CONTROL
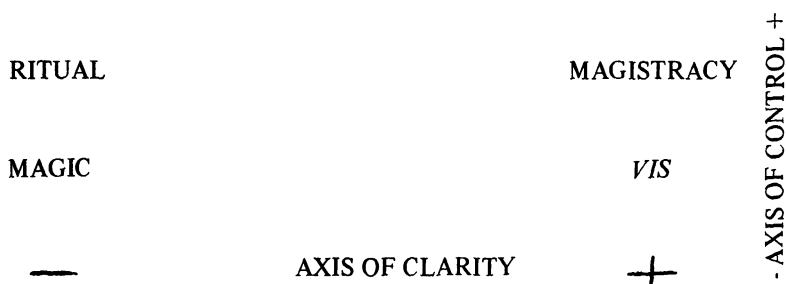
The terms here are slightly different, and the matrix as a whole refers to the
possibilities inherent not in an integrated or integrating political arrangement
or formula, but in the realm of leadership itself. The axis of clarity might also
be termed the axis of rationality: *vis* is here identified as overt force, clear
(and certainly in its own terms rational) in relation to its explicit statement of
personal power. On the axis of control or harmony *vis* is obviously at the ne-
gative pole. I have suggested elsewhere that *vis* (especially as expressed in the
tyranny of the first matrix) may be regarded as uncontrolled masculine, or e-

28. *The Politics of Aristotle*, trans. E. Barker (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1958),
III. viii. 2; IV. x. 3-4; and V. xi. 4-34.

ven of masculine-animal power.[29] It can have no legitimate place in kingship, except when converted (harmonized) into magistracy on the Right Hand of the King.

It is the King's Left Hand which is in our focus here. On this side of the quadrate diagram, magic falls into the zone of dark potentiality; ritual into the zone of controlled or harmonized force—exemplifying control, but still mysterious or concerned with mysteries, with the irrational and the miraculous.[30] The separation of the zones in this quadrate model is of course only illustrative. The zones are cross-fertilizing: there must be a "rational" aspect to ritual (for control or controlling *is* rational); and ritual converts, by irradiating them, the signs and metaphors of magisterial sovereignty. So such great ritual statements and events as the imperial coronation necessarily draw on the symbols of both "Hands": the extensive-aggressive symbols of Sword, Sceptre, Lance, and the elevated stance; the containing-incorporative symbols of Throne, Ring, Crown, Robe, and the seated posture.[31] The ritual event, put another way, contains simultaneously the metonymy of the Right Hand (the emphasis on hierarchy and order), and the metaphoric mode of the Left Hand (with emphasis on equivalence, conjunction).[32]

It is relatively easy to extend this concept of the bivalent ruler into the data describing the Byzantine ruler and his operations. The emperor as war-leader, in addition to other ambiguities which cluster around this role, is described with the epithets of Victory-Bringer (*nikephoros*) and Peace-Maker (*eirenopoeios*): the double significance of successful war-making *and* successful har-

29. D. Miller, *Imperial Constantinople* (New York: Wiley, 1969), p. 22, n. 32.

30. Although I am aware that a scholar like Marcel Mauss views magic as the manipulation or control of the area of dark force, see his *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. R. Brain (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).

31. D. Miller, "Royauté et ambiguïté sexuelle," *Annales E.S.C.*, Nos. 3-4 (1971), 647-48.

32. The possibility of identifying the two sides of "hands" as possessing primary sexual characteristics—Left-Female and Right-Male—is both important and imperative to recognize as only one level of our perception and recreation of the original pattern. The extension into political myth and metaphor of a vision of "primary" paternal force, and of "primary" maternal nurture or mercy, is all too easily vulgarized, and the Freudian analytic, while it ought to be praised for its unveiling of the force and ubiquity of sexuality and of sexual referents, is not very helpful in any deep penetration of the problem at hand. In "Kingship and Sexual Ambiguity," cited above, I suggested that the primary reconstruction of kingly power rests on a recognition of an anomalous and ambiguous figuration. (I have developed the notion further elsewhere : specifically, in companion pieces to the first study on sexual ambiguity, i.e., "Toward a Typology of Aristocracy," and "Toward a Unified Field Theory of Kingship and Aristocracy," both of these studies also to be published in the *Annales E.S.C.*) One reflex of this anomaly is the combination of sexually-related anomaly include the assumed "youthfulness" or sexual innocence of the king, sexual abstinence or chastity (hyposexuality), royal childlessness as a desirable state—the collectivity of characteristics making up the *mythologem* of the Adamic king. But the first anomaly remians the combination of metaphorized, opposite sexual identities in one person.

monization seem clear. Again, the law-making emperor enters a zone where
the air—at first glance—is clear. In terms of the two elements of sovereignty,
law-making is Mitral-magisterial on the Right Hand—and implies rational cos-
mesis—the fitting of earthly order to a cosmic and sempiternal reality. And yet
there may be hidden complications. Is it necessary not merely to *state* a law,
but also to *persuade* the body of subjects to accept and obey it? Is this act
of persuasion attached to processes of rational argument, or are there elements
of the magical-gestural joined to or in it?

"The king [in ancient Egypt] speaks and all things are made as he has said,
by means of the force of sacred character inherent in the person of the mo-
narch."[33] But we should expect the Egyptian pharoah, as a living incarnation
of the god Horus, completely to possess and use the *auctoritas ordinandi*: the
power to order. On the other side of the world, and in a much less complex
culture in social, political, and technological terms, we have information on
the New Caledonian chieftain who "imposes his authority by the power of
his speech—it is he who orders, in every sense of the term."[34] But, as the
source makes clear, the power of the chieftain's speech is figured more as
skill in following the intricate word patterns of the effective rituals.

It is in a polity with recognizable and differential *foci* of power that a separa-
tion between ordering and persuasion seems to appear. The Homeric assemb-
ly presents a mixed or marginal situation both in terms of historical develop-
ment and of socio-political configuration. The leader in the assembly simply
announces a fact to his audience, and persuasion does not seem necessary in
this formal context: formal statement is "early law." Yet Odysseus of Many
Wiles is in the process of introducing craft or persuasion into speaking, pre-
sumably in order to convince that warrior aristocracy who no longer can sim-
ply be overcome by the numenal "weight" of an order from the king.[35]

Odysseus' craft/persuasion continues to shift, in time, in the direction of
magical manipulation. We note that one usage of the Greek verb χοητεύειν. "to
bewitch," referred to a degree of *rhetorical* skill.[36] To arrange words success-
fully—in order to persuade—is given an implicit magical valence, in the Hellen-
istic context. According to Josephus (*Ap.* 2: 153) the lawgiver not only
knows "what is best"—the inference is that this knowledge is revealed, even

33. G. Gusdorf, *Speaking (La Parole),* trans. P.T. Brockleman (Evanston, Ill.: North-
western Univ. Press, 1965), p. 13.

34. G. Balandier, *Political Anthropology,* trans. A.M.S. Smith (New York: Pantheon
Books, 1970), p. 112, citing J. Guiart, "Structure de la chifferie en Melanesie du Sud,"
(Institut d'ethnologie, Université de Paris, 1963).

35. See M.I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus* (Cleveland: World Pub. Co., 1963), p. 83.

36. D.L. Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker,* Society of Biblical Liter-
ature. Dissertation Series, no. 1 (Missoula, Mont.: Published by Society of Biblical Li-
terature for the Seminar on the Gospels, 1972), p. 21.

gnostic—but can also "persuade those who are to practice the laws he establishes."[37]

Finally, the Anglo-Saxon king (in the period of the conversion to Christianity) is said to use language and rhetoric to persuade the people (using the specifically-named *auctoritas suadendi*) to obey the gods or God.[38]

These are the ambiguities which cluster around the concept of persuasion, as practiced by individuals claiming and wielding power. The least that can be said is that the "power of words" is separable from the logical-cosmetic framework, and may appear working in the zone of magic. Obviously there is much yet to be investigated, for all is not as clear as we may have assumed.[39]

The presence of twinned, bivalent, and consequently anomalous powers within the Byzantine imperial office may have importance for a new understanding of, or at the very least a new perspective on, a much-analyzed politico-religious stance adopted by the occupants of this office. The stance is the *Christomimetic,* reflecting on earth the character and—within obvious limitations—the powers of the Christ.

The Byzantines are not backward in explicitly stating the Christomimetic aspect of their ruler: "he imitates Christ himself, who is our true God."[40] On the one hand, this stance firmly connects the Byzantine ruler to the primary structural pattern of ancient Near Eastern kingship, or specifically to the "Mesopotamian" mode in which the king acted as a vicegerent of divinity.[41] On the other, the Christian expression of the mimesis adds a quality and a complexity of its own. For every man—every believer—was an imitator of Christ, and partook of his duality: theology made clear the mixture within mankind of divine and human. As "first among men" the emperor surely was the clearest earthbound exemplification of this duality, and in terms of the mystery—and disconformity—of the coexistence of divine and human in man's frame, could be called the highest-ranked expressor of a deeply felt anomaly. But metaphors which illuminated the emperor's position went much farther, and it is precisely in the mechanisms of imperial ritual that these metaphors are most brilliantly outlined, and where their effective power is most profoundly seen and felt. In these rituals the emperor's Christ-like advocacy for his people is frequently seen, or his occupation of that place where he acts as a chan-

37. τά βέλτιστα συνιδεῖν: "sees" or "recognizes" what is best.

38. In W.A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1970), p. 203.

39. See Gusdorf, ch. 2: "Speaking and the Gods: Theology of Language"; and S. J. Tambiah, "The Magical Power of Words," *Man,* NS, 3 (1968), 175-208.

40. Nicephoros Blemmydes, *Andrias Basilikos,* chap. 6, in E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium: From Justinian I to the Last Paleologus* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 157.

41. H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958).

nel for the current of *eusebeia* ascending to God, and the current of *philan-thropia* descending to God's people. The Byzantines possessed an especially enriched view, however, of Christ as Lord of Time: as the fulfillment not only of prophecy but of process, in redeeming the sin of the first Adam in the sac-rifice of the new Adam—and here the language of ritual makes the most ex-treme statement about the relationship of the "icon" with the Real, for the emperor is himself addressed *as* Christ, as "thou born of a Virgin."[42]

This is metaphor, but very powerful metaphor. It goes beyond the figural identification of the king-emperor with the Adamic model I have already spoken to; it goes beyond the orthodox theological implications of the icon-ic approximation or representation—it goes, one must say, into the zone of the forbidden. *Christomimesis* is one thing, but the ritual in question identi-fies the emperor as Christ. To do so is to put the human emperor into the ca-tegory of divinity, and *this* perpetrates an anomaly of the highest order, the final anomaly beside which all others pale into insignificance. And we should note that we are here speaking of a Christian civilization which maintained— in spite of the synthetic conclusions and constructions of orthodoxy —a strong bias toward monophysitism, toward the denial of the human in the *ousia* of Christ.[43]   The enigma solves itself. For the Byzantines, the idea of dominance of an imperial dimension must spring from their perception of the emperor as an absolute master of anomaly, the possessor—in ritual—of a clearly indicated non-human potency. The theological application of Christomimesis can and does give way, or lead to, a terminal statement of the ritual reflex of absolute (and by definition anomalous) power: of Man become God.

Conclusion

"Hereby may the imperial power be exercised with due rhythm and order; may the empire thus represent the harmony and the motion of the universe as it comes from its Creator, and may it thus appear to our subjects in a more solemn majesty, and so be the more acceptable to them."[44]   Thus Constan-

42. *De ceremoniis*, 1. 2: pp. 35-38. In an earlier examination of this ceremony I treated it as a reflex of the Ritual of Time—i.e., of a ritual which brought time under control, which it certainly is: the final "display" of the emperor, for instance, is at the Great Clock or Horloge in the Augusteion. The anomalous essence of the quoted *respon-sum* struck me at that point, but not with sufficient force: cf. my *Imperial Constanti-nople*, pp. 35-36.

43. I am aware of being on shaky ground here, and perhaps guilty of making too ex-treme a statement, against which the anomaly of the Emperor-as-Christ may be more strongly projected. However, monophysitism as a mental set or inclination, i.e., defined as a disinterest in the "historical" Christ and as a suspicion of the possibility of "body-ing" the Divine, is clearly visible in the Byzantine thought-world. Iconoclasm was not an interruption or an aberration, but an intellectual position visible for a century-and-a-half; thereafter, a current running toward desubstantializing or "debodying" is clearly seen in Byzantine mystical thought.

44. Translated in Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium*, p. 104.

tine VII wrote in his *Proem* to the great compilation of the *De ceremoniis*. The out-of-work emperor appears to view the imperial ceremonial as a harmonizing and as an affective instrument, but hardly as a "magical" one. But there is no reason why he should recognize and declare such a magical substrate to exist under the ritual acts and signs of the emperor. That substrate was, however, present, in East Rome as in parallel cultures—in terms of their perception and use of ritual—of whatever degree of sociopolitical complexity. What I have attempted to describe here is, first, that area of non-harmonized potentiality which must be brought under control, expressly through the ritual process; second, the geminated nature of the figure of power who—precisely because he operates from a liminal and anamalous zone, or is so strongly connected to that zone—is able to balance and cure and direct the society he heads. Reading the emperor Constantine's words, we are not told that he was conscious of the sources of his ritual potency, but we may be sure that he was expected to use, and did use, the "Left Hand." The present study has merely sketched that mentality which projected and perceived the images of power that ritual, orchestrated by the emperor, brought under control.

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Monks and Society in Iconoclastic Byzantium

Although the iconoclastic controversy is of singular significance for the history of Byzantine monasticism, the actual nature of monastic communities of the period has never been carefully studied. This article, based on hagiographical sources rather than the more commonly used chronicles of Theophanes and the Patriarch Nicephorus, will confront this problem first by reexamining the actual social relationships between the monastic communities and society in Byzantium during the eighth and ninth centuries. It will then examine the fate of several types of monasteries during the period, reassessing both the impact of the persecutions on traditional urban monasteries and the concurrent strengthening of informal clusters of rural eremitical monks.

In part the subject involves two long-established trends within the monastic world. The Christianization of the later Roman Empire led to the well known drift of members of professional and bureaucratic families into the ecclesiastical and monastic hierarchies, thus integrating those offices into the family-oriented patronage systems of society. As will be shown, this produced a type of monk whose vocation and career often combined—indeed, the needs of the former were often adjusted to meet the requirements of the latter. The impact of iconoclastic policies on this type of individual is in need of serious examination. The second background trend involves the growing importance of the ascetic eremitical religious life in the Mediterranean—a tendency strengthened by the social and economic upheavals of the eighth century.[1] The iconoclastic persecutions encouraged the political coordination and organization of these isolated eremitical communities. Thus, one of the ironies of iconoclasm is the fact that, in seeking to impose their authority upon the monastic world, the iconoclasts solidified political opposition to their authority within its growing eremitical wing.

I

This approach may appear controversial, especially given accepted scholarly perceptions of the iconoclastic period, which tend to be more narrative than

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1. The importance of the holy man in later Roman society has been discussed by P. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Roman Society," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 71 (1971), 80-101; and E. Patlagean, "Ancienne hagiographie byzantine et histoire sociale," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 23 (1968), 106.

analytical, and suffer from severe and uncorrected bias in their sources.`According to these accounts, the persecution of the monastic communities began soon after 730 when Leo III first began to enforce actively the decree of 726 against the icons.[2] The chronicles are not very specific, but indicate that monastic communities in Constantinople suffered serious disruption and that "many monks, clerics, and faithful laity were martyred."[3] The life of St. Stephen the Younger offers a much quoted description of the flight of the orthodox to areas outside the emperor's control. More widespread persecutions did not appear until well into the reign of Constantine V. In 754 a church council formally adopted iconoclasm and Constantine began to place iconoclasts in high church office. This introduced a wave of persecutions which included iconodule victims from all walks of life—ascetic holy men like Peter the Stylite, John of Monagria, and Andrew Galybites, as well as laymen, magistrates, men of military rank, and even some of the emperor's own guards.[4] By this time there is increasing evidence that the persecution of the monks was aimed at wider issues than simply their support of the icons, since many of Constantine V's actions were aimed at monastic celibacy and avoidance of military service.[5] The persecutions soon intensified to include the actual destruction of monasteries in Constantinople, specifically those of Dalmatius, Callistratus, Dios, and Maximius, with the consequent dispersal of their respective communities.[6]

2. Paul Alexander has recently published a detailed study of religious persecution in Byzantium in the eighth and ninth centuries which devotes considerable time to the iconoclastic persecutions: "Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Methods and Justifications," *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 238-64.

3. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Liepzig: In aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1883-85), II, 409-10.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 413, lines 16-19; p. 438, line 1, also Nicephorus the Patriarch, *Breviarium historicum*, in *Nicephori archiepiscopi constantinopolitani Opiscula historica*, ed. C. de Boor, Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: In aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1880), p. 985, line 83, *Vita* of St. Stephen the Younger, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina* [hereafter *PG*], ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris. J. P. Migne, 1857-66), C, cols. 1067-1186.

5. A detailed discussion of Constantine V's motives is given in the present author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Saints, Holy Men, and Byzantine Society, 726-843," Rutgers University, 1976, pp. 147-61.

6. The assessment of Constantine V is certainly colored by the life of St. Stephen the Younger. Because of the biased nature of our sources it is almost impossible to know to what extent Constantine's bloodthirsty reputation was deserved. There are many indications that his policy was not one of total repression, and that mutilation and death may have been meted out to the recalcitrant as a last resort. He is known to have bribed men to leave the monastery with money and office. He sent out iconoclastic prelates to persuade opponents, and resorted to legal trickery, threats, and confinement to achieve his ends. There is evidence that most of the secular clergy was converted, and, as will be shown later, most of the monastic community in the capital did likewise. Those who did not fled to Southern Italy or to Mt. Olympus and Mt. St. Auxentius in Asia Minor.

The brief reign of Leo IV brought a period of moderation, and when his iconophile wife, Irene, came to the throne, she moved slowly toward the restoration of the icons. Her care is certainly an indication of the continuing power of the iconoclastic party. By 787, Irene was able to hold a council destined to restore the empire to orthodoxy. The standard narrative attributes an important role to "the monks" at the Council of Nicea, particularly Saints Plato and Theodore and their colleagues from the monastery of Studios. Thanks to their intransigence, the council argued bitterly over the reinstatement of lapsed clerics. This was the first of a long series of clashes between the Studites, the government, and the secular clergy. It is clear that these zealots were not ready to come to terms with church and state, despite the reinstatement of the icons.

It is wrong, however, to assume that the Studites' attitudes were representative of the monastic community in general, since even the standard accounts consider that the reign of Irene reestablished monastic influence in Constantinople. Irene assisted in the foundation of several monasteries, gave them a number of gifts, and granted them tax remissions. Clearly not all of the monastic community in Constantinople was alienated from the government.

Irene's successor, Nicephorus, drew back from many of Irene's pro-monastic politicies. He continued to antagonize the Studites, first by passing over St. Theodore and naming a layman (Nicephorus) as patriarch, and then by recognizing Constantine VI's second marriage. Although he did not attack the monasteries directly, he limited their gifts and endowments and cancelled their tax exemptions. The result was not only divisions within the monastic community, but a withdrawal of monastic support from the emperor.

Nicephorus' disastrous defeat at the hands of Krum in 811 brought Michael I Rangabe (811-13) to the throne. During this short reign, the monastic communities returned to favor and Michael himself founded several houses. He also recalled the Studites from exile and soon came under the influence of St. Theodore of Studios. Ironically, it was Theodore's intransigence that brought about Michael's disastrous defeat in 813 and resulted in his deposition.

Michael was succeeded by Leo V, an iconoclastic soldier who had been *strategus* of the Anatolikon theme. The more extreme iconoclasts attributed the empire's ill fortune and the Bulgar menace to the veneration of the icons and renewed the persecution of the iconodules. This temporarily united the iconodule monastic and ecclesiastical communities as exile was forced on a long list of individuals of widely differing persuasions: Theodore of Studios, Michael of Synnada, Nicephorus the Patriarch, Hilarion the Younger, John the Psychiate, and Macarius, to name a few. Once again the monks of the capital "fled to the mountains and caves,"[7] to the hermitages of Mt. Olympus

7. *Vita* of St. Methodius the Patriarch, in *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana* [hereafter *AASS*] (Antwerp, Bruxelles, Paris and Rome, 1643-), *Juni*, II. 1248.

and Mt. St. Auxentius, or to more distant refuges in Italy. The life of St. John the Psychiate provides a graphic description of the plundering of the monasteries and hermitages as crowds of soldiers sought out holy men.[8]

The iconodules received a respite under Michael the Amorian (820-29), who, while an iconoclast himself, refused to be involved in the controversy. His son, Theophilus, however, took a more active interest in ecclesiastical affairs. Under the influence of John the Grammarian, a leading exponent of iconoclastic theory, Theophilus made another attempt to impose iconoclastic doctrines upon the church. Persecutions and exiles resumed, and Theophilus is accused of many of the same bloodthirsty acts as Constantine V.[9] Yet the iconoclastic zeal seemed to flag while its opposition was consolidating. The island of Aphousia still supported a contingent of noteworthy exiles, including John, *hegumen* of the monastery of Cathares, the Grapti, and St. Michael of Jerusalem. For the first time we find important segments of the secular clergy siding with and suffering with the monks.[10] In practice, Theophilus apparently alternated between efforts at reasoned discourse with the iconodules and harsh measures which reflected his frustration with them. Persecution had finally unified his opposition and with Theophilus' death came the restoration of the icons for the last time. The iconodule monks and holy men returned to Constantinople to enjoy an unparalleled period of power, prosperity, and prestige.

In this standard historical interpretation there is a general assumption that the monks took an iconodule position, while the secular clergy wavered or went over to the iconoclasts. We are given the impression of a wasteland of empty monasteries in Constantinople, with angry monks lurking in the rural wilds. If there is any nuance in the perception of the monks' attitudes, it involves the degrees of dogmatism they manifested in support of the icons. This overly simplistic view is largely due to the nature of our sources. The chronicler Theophanes was a monk and a staunch iconodule, who pictured the monks as unified in their support of the icons. He never suggests a lack of unity and never takes notice of iconoclastic monks since by definition they were "false monks" who were to be obliterated from memory. The Patriarch Nicephorus takes the same position in his chronicle. For these two historians, and for writers of hagiography, it would have been unthinkable to suggest that any monastic communities might have supported the iconoclasts. Since the surviving

8. P. Van den Ven, "La Vie de S. Ionnes Psichaiata," *Le Museon, revue d'études orientales*, 20 (1902), 21.
9. J. Rosser, "Theophilus, 'the Unlucky' (829-842): A Study of the Tragic and Brilliant Reign of Byzantium's Last Iconoclastic Emperor," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1972.
10. P. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople, Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 144.

vitae were the products of monastic circles of iconodule persuasion, and were designed to enhance the reputation of the monasteries involved, this is certainly quite understandable. The principal sources which suggest that some monastic elements went over to the iconoclasts are the letters of St. Theodore of Studios. In fact, these letters often reflect historical reality far better than the chronicles of the period.

Whatever their deficiencies, the sources give us a view of monasticism as an institution undergoing great stress, especially during the reigns of Constantine V, Leo V, and Theophilus. Monastic communities were often broken up, forcing monks to move to outlying areas where they formed small isolated groups—groups which gradually reorganized and achieved considerable religious and political influence. In the process there was a mingling of individuals from the entire spectrum of monastic life. Prominent urban monks and *hegumens* adopted the eremitical life in company with holy hermits, thus spreading interest in and commitment to eremitical activities and attitudes rather than those of regular monasticism.[11] Disruption and persecution eroded traditional controls over entrance into the monastic community, allowing greater diversity both of personnel and practice. Mobility was no longer restricted, and monks moved freely from one community to another. The result was the evolution of informal organization, regular communication, and the emergence of new leaders—aggressive, stubborn, idealistic men whose militancy soon created friction with the secular clergy and political authority.

Clearly the role of members of monastic communities was a sensitive issue in the political and religious upheavals of eighth- and ninth-century Byzantium. Yet, in most crises, the government's treatment of the monastic community was far from uniform or consistent. Despite episodes of serious persecution, some traditionally prominent monasteries in the capital proved remarkably resilient and adaptable, attempts were made to attract monastics to iconoclasm, and we get glimpses of a considerable segment of iconoclastic monasticism. Meanwhile, many of the more isolated communities either survived almost untouched or were able to carry out provisional reorganization which kept them intact.

It is a gross oversimplification to attribute a unified position to "the monks" in the face of most crises or to assume that an attack on "the monasteries" really meant a wholehearted effort to eradicate them. In both cases the sources are seriously distorted by the systematic elimination or discrediting of icono-

11. The term "regular monasticism" is here used to denote those monastic communities which lived under a recognized rule, as opposed to monastic communities which had no formal rule whatsoever. Although provision exists, within the Basilian tradition, for eremitical activity, many eremitical communities existed which had little supervision or formal monastic affiliation. The term "regular" is here used in its most literal interpretation and does not imply the existence of formal monastic orders as are known in the West.

clastic persons and authors in an attempt to emphasize the purity of the icono-
dule holdouts.

II

In order to understand the role of the monk in the history of the icono-
clastic period it is necessary to examine the individuals who entered monaster-
ies, their backgrounds, and their motivations. To do this requires a further
analysis of the personal and social functions which monastic communities per-
formed for various parts of Byzantine society. What emerges is a pattern in
which the monastic world falls into three functionally different segments, each
corresponding to a distinct portion of Byzantine society. In each case, indivi-
duals move from lay society into monastic activities in response to psycho-
logical, social, and economic needs and objectives reflecting circumstances
specific to their social origins. As a result, monasticism and its less formal and
sometimes less respectable eremitical fringes are revealed as a complex of fac-
tions, patronage systems, and intellectual perspectives as varied as Byzantine
society itself.

The analysis is not, in fact, as tidy as it sounds. Most social boundaries have
an element of haziness in reality, and since the sample of cases spans two cen-
turies, the focus is further blurred by historical change during the period. This
dynamic element in the situation is dealt with in section III of this article.
Despite these problems, the main lines of the monasticism/society relation-
ship emerge with reasonable clarity.

This study is based on fifty-five saints' Lives selected from the rich hagio-
graphical corpus of the period.[12] Coupled with data from other contemporary

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12. Only those *vitae* are used which have been identified as historically credible in
some degree. A discussion of their textual traditions is given in Ringrose, "Saints, Holy
Men," ch. 1. Selection was restricted to those lives for which we have evidence that the
textual tradition was established by the tenth century and not subsequently rewritten.
The *vitae* which are the best historical documents are generally those written by a disciple
of the saint soon after his death. It is also necessary to consider the nature of our sample
of saints in light of the canonization process. Apparently, in Byzantium in this period,
canonization grew out of popular acclamation with little formal supervision. I have no
evidence that the church exercised any control over the writing of *vitae* or the veneration
of new saints. When a saint became the object of a local cult, his name and festival day
were recorded on the calendar of the monastery or local church with which he was identi-
fied. If his following became extensive, his name might be entered on the patriarchal
calendar. The size and type of cults represented, the subject matter and literary style of
these saints' lives very greatly. They portray saints from all parts of society. Some lives
are quite original in form, others almost totally derivative. The language varies from a
florid, elaborate Greek with unusual words and grammar to a simple "common" style.
Thus, although both are part of the traditional hagiographical genre, there is a great
deal of difference between the anonymous life of St. Anthony the Younger and the life
of St. Plato of Sacudion, written by Theodore of Studios. The first is a blend of shaky
historical facts and romantic fiction, in which the author relies on elements of popular

sources, these lives suggest a tripartite division of Byzantine society as it re-
lated to monasticism. It is important to understand that this set of groupings
assumes no comparison with modern conceptions of upper, middle, and work-
ing classes. What are here referred to as the popular, middle, and aristocratic
classes are categories which reflect three distinct patterns of religious vocation
and career, patterns which are closely tied to the educational, social, and eco-
nomic backgrounds of lay families.[13] Of the three categories, both middle and
aristocratic are part of the dominant elite or the "single class" of traditional
societies as defined by Peter Laslett,[14] while the popular element relates to
the broad category of the "rest" of society.

   Thus, the huge and varied world of hermit saints, holy men, wonder work-
ers, and loosely organized wilderness communities corresponds with the urban
and rural masses and with those of various economic backgrounds dispossessed
and rendered transient by political upheaval and foreign invasion. At the other
extreme, the "aristocracy" implies those individuals possessing substantial
wealth and linked by position and documented patronage to the court in
Constantinople and the policy making circles around the court. The "middle
class" in this formulation refers to people who are identified as "living com-
fortably" and holding a wide range of positions in the civil and religious hier-
archies—village priests, grain supply administrators, etc.—the bureaucratic ele-
ment of moderate wealth and education which is essential to the operation of
any large state. It may well be possible to identify, from other sources, other
segments of society—a mercantile class, for example—but no amount of search-
ing or rearranging of data from the saints' lives created a convincing impres-
sion of alternative groupings which had distinctive and identifiable relation-
ships with monasticism. For all its great size and commercial importance,
therefore, Constantinople emerges from these sources as the political and re-
ligious capital of an agrarian society with a highly bureaucratized directing
elite and a restive and troubled social base.

   Popular monasticism is the most interesting and least understood aspect of
Byzantine monasticism. Subject to little overall discipline, this segment of the

oral tradition. The second is a biographical statement of unquestioned accuracy, com-
memorating the author's uncle. The size and importance of saintly cults varied from one
vita to another. The lives of many saints who were generated locally have reached us be-
cause they were preserved in monastic archives. A good example of this type of *vita* is
the life of St. Peter of Atroa, a valuable life with unimpeachable historical credentials,
yet representatives of a small cult long confined to the monastic community. At the
other extreme, St. Stephen the Younger, greatest of the martyrs to the iconoclasts, was
a well known public figure and appears prominently in the historical sources for the
eighth century. For additional discussion, see H. Delahaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*
(Bruxelles, 1955).
   13. This perception of society is very like that of M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*
(Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1973), pp. 35-71.
   14. P. Laslett, *The World We Have Lost*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1971).

monastic world only partially fits under the term monasticism as it is ordinarily used in Western Europe. Yet, the cenobitical groups, hermit saints, wandering holy men, and the competing miracle workers who appear in the sources constitute a part of a continuous spectrum of eremitical life, ascetic values, and monastic orientation which runs from itinerant miracle workers to the staid and respectable monasteries of the aristocratic circles in the capital. The individuals who peopled this world were a product of the political and economic unrest of the seventh and eighth centuries. Often drawn from a floating population of landless poor, their origins were rural and modest. They were uneducated and lacked the rigorous monastic training recommended by the Basilian tradition. They were very mobile and lacked permanent affiliations with established monastic houses. Indeed, the saints of this type who are found in our sources represent only the most orthodox of a wide range of popular wonder workers, healers, and magicians.

Both government and clergy freely acknowledged the importance of this non-formalized religious world and the power of the wandering monk or holy man. The seventh century saw an ever-increasing effort to draw holy men into high church office. At the same time, monastic legislation and reform endeavored to impose regulation upon holy men and thus channel the religiosity of their following into an acceptable, formalized framework. The acts of the church councils generally acknowledge the problem of dealing with holy men, recommending that they live under monastic discipline, or, failing that, at least leave the city to dwell in solitude.[15]

Although colonies of holy men could be found throughout the Byzantine Empire, the iconoclastic period saw a large concentration of them along the Asia Minor coast, centered on Mt. Olympus, Mt. St. Auxentius, and Mt. Admirable. In their rocky mountain caves they were almost completely immune to government harassment. Although we know little about the size and make-up of these coenobitical communities, it is clear that they were numerous. In addition, many holy men spent long periods living in almost total isolation in eremitical communities. None of these eremitical communities was very formal; few were permanent arrangements; and holy men moved freely from one style of life to another. Thus the organization of this religious world was as fluid as the social milieu from which many of its members came.

During the iconoclastic period, wandering holy men increasingly replaced rural priests as a focus for popular piety. Because the church hierarchy was forced to adopt iconoclasm, the priesthood was likewise forced to accept iconoclastic views. In addition, the asceticism and celebacy of the holy man

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15. *Acts of the Quinisextum*, in *Sacrorum conciliorum nota et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi, 31 vols. (Firenze and Venezia: A. Zatta, 1759-98), XI, 902-1066, no. 42.

gave him a special religious aura.[16]

As will be discussed later, the colonies of hermits, monks, and holy men on the upper slopes of Mt. Olympus were able to hold out against the iconoclastic emperors. Soon this area became a refuge for iconophile churchmen and monks from all walks of life. Thus iconoclasm brought about a unification of many diverse elements of Byzantine monasticism, and we find St. Peter of Atroa, an ascetic, hermit, and popular healer working side by side with St. Theodore of Studios, an educated aristocrat, a religious conservative, and the leading theologian of his day.

Because of their personal magnetism and popular influence, these monks and holy men constituted a potentially dangerous focal point for popular unrest. Their lack of respect for ecclesiastical doctrine, as defined by an iconoclastic church and state, posed the threat that such unrest could be directed against the government. The importance of this unstable popular religious element is documented not only by the *vitae*, but also by the church's repeated efforts to lead these holy men into orthodoxy and to discipline their activities.

This is all the more significant because the following of these popular saints was not confined to the poor, but also included members of the aristocracy and middle class among their followers. Thus these holy men were not merely potential popular leaders, but they also provided an important link between popular forces and elements of the court which participated directly in political life. At the same time, they became the agents who popularized and spread the ascetic eremitical ideals of monasticism throughout the empire.

The middle category which emerged from the *vitae* fits neither the popular patterns of the preceding paragraphs nor belongs to the courtly aristocracy.[17] These monks commonly came from families for whom the religious life was extremely important, received an education focused on religion; had relatives who belonged to monastic communities; and were often promised or placed in monasteries during early childhood. They reflect a serious religious commitment which suggests popular religious trends, but at the same time, they entered recognized and regulated monasteries, retained patronage and familiar connections with the outside world, and followed careers which brought them

16. Good examples of this sort of saint are seen in the lives of Saints Peter of Atroa, Joannicius, David, Symeon, and George of Mytelene. See St. Sabas, *La Vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa (+ 837)*, ed. and trans. V. Laurent (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1956); *Vita S. Joannicius*, in *AASS, Novembri*, II, no. 1, 325-71; "SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii, Mitylene in insula Lesbo," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 18 (1899), 209-59. Also, Brown, "Holy Man in Late Roman Society."

17. This type of saint is typified by Saints Stephen the Younger, Theophylact of Nicomedia, John the Psychaiate, and Nicetas and Nicephorus, both of the monastery of the Medikion. *Vita* of St. Stephen the Younger; A. Vogt, "La Vie de Theophylact de Nicomédie," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 50 (1932), 67-82; Van den Ven, "Vie de S. Ioannes Psichaiata"; *Vita* of St. Nicephorus of the Medikion, in *AASS, Maia*. I, 721; *Vita* of St. Nicetas of the Medikion, in *AASS, Aprilis*, I, 253-66.

to important offices in either the monastic or the secular church hierarchy. Individuals who combined intelligence, diligence, loyalty, and sincere religiosity with good family connections, could advance to the office of *hegumen* of a large monastery, a high post in a large church, or even an important bishopric. Thus, despite their religious vocation, the careers of these monks follow patterns typical of successful members of their class in the lay institutions of the empire. The monasteries thus functioned as a setting for careers and were incorporated into the patterns of patron/client relationships which provided avenues for advancement in pre-modern societies. In this the monasteries served a social function for the middle class parallel to the uses to which, as we will see, they were put by the aristocracy around the court.

All of the families of these saints "lived in sufficiency," with moderate wealth and political influence. This is indicated by their ability to provide formal education for all their children and to stand the loss of income if a son, often an only son, became a monk. Generally the family, and especially the mother, had a religious orientation. In several cases the saint, though of good family, was an orphan and a monastic career was chosen for him by his relatives. Often other members of the family, sometimes all of it, embraced the monastic life. Such a family often promised a son or daughter to a monastic community at birth. These children were turned over to the monastery at a young age, educated in a monastic school, and tonsured at about age fifteen. Intelligence, patronage, family connections and devotion then provided the requirements for a career.

While the saints' lives document this pattern under the iconophile emperors, there is also evidence that, despite monastic persecution, the pattern continued virtually unaltered under the iconoclastic rulers as well. It is significant that all but one of the saints in this category entered an established monastic house in or near Constantinople and embraced the monastic life either before 726 or during the thirty-three year respite under Irene and Michael. As will be shown later, despite the persecutions, most of these urban houses continued to function under iconoclastic control. Given the close relationship between family, career, and authority implied by the activities of the saints of this group, it is plausible to assume that the recruitment of this type of individual continued under iconoclastic aegis. The lack of saints in this category from the iconoclastic period is explained by the systematic elimination of iconoclasts from the sources in later centuries.

This hypothesis is supported by two somewhat antithetical examples, Anthony of Sylaion and St. Stephen the Younger. We have fragmentary information about at least one iconoclast who matched the saints in this group as to background, education, and career. Anthony, the Bishop of Sylaion, was trained as a lawyer and teacher, entered a monastic community, and ultimately was named patriarch by Constantine V. The other case is that of St. Stephen, the only person in this group who became a monk while the empire was under iconoclastic control and still became a saint. Groomed for the religious

life since birth, he was enrolled by his parents in a monastery on Mt. St. Aux-
entius at age sixteen, "since they did not wish to see his promise wasted."[18]
We are told rather pointedly that if times had been normal, he would have
been enrolled in a house in Constantinople, but that because of the iconoclasts
his parents felt that he would not be safe in a monastery in the city.[19] In-
stead, Stephen became a disciple of the hermit John, and part of the eremiti-
cal tradition of the holy mountain.[20] He soon established his own community
and gathered a considerable following, which became a center for resistance to
imperial authority. Given the timing of St. Stephen's vocation, this may sug-
gest how the iconoclastic movement diverted able men to popular monasti-
cism. Unlike others of his background, St. Stephen did not seek or achieve
high political office. The arena for his activities was predominently rural, and
the emperor tolerated him until it became apparent that he was building an
urban following. In the last analysis, he stands out as the exception to the pat-
tern of vocations in his group, a group for whom sanctity or oblivion was
dependent on politics and timing.[21]

18. *Vita* of St. Stephen the Younger, p. 1088.
19. Although St. Stephen's parents felt that the city would not be safe for him, never-
theless they enrolled his sister in a religious house in the city.
20. Eremitical communities on the holy mountains usually involved a master and his
disciples. Only the master could work miracles. At his death he was succeeded by the
most gifted of his disciples, forming a kind of linear succession. Pargoire traces this tra-
dition on Mt. St. Auxentius from the fifth century down to St. Stephen: P. Pargoire,
"Mt. S. Auxence," *Bibliothèque hagiographique orientale*, 6 (1904), 71-78.
21. There is considerable evidence in the *vitae* which indicates that systems of patron-
age existed within the monastic community and extended into lay society. They deter-
mined the monastery one was able to enter, and the level of responsibility to which one
could rise. This net of patronage also extended into the secular religious community, al-
lowing monks to move out of the monastery and into important ecclesiastical positions.
This patronage is amply illustrated by a group of monks who rose to prominence through
the activities of the patriarch Tarasius. The appointment of these monks to high church
office was an important part of Tarasius' reform program. Both the hagiographers and
the historians of the period agree that Tarasius tried to end the purchase of ecclesiastical
office and curtail the lavish lifestyle of the secular clergy. Of the thirteen individuals in
the middling group of saints, six (Macarius, John the Psychaiate, Michael of Synnada, Theo-
phylact of Nicomedia, and Nicetas of the Medikion) were raised to the priesthood and
church office by Tarasius. Before his appointment as patriarch, Tarasius had shown an
interest in monastic life. Some time before 787 he founded a monastery on a piece of
his family's estate on the European side of the Euxine point near the monastery of St.
Mamas. A surprising number of important religious figures of the early ninth century re-
ceived their training in this monastery, then moved to high ecclesiastical office under the
patronage of St. Tarasius. The career of St. Michael of Synnada included the Bishopric
of Synnada and ambassadorial work for both the Emperor Nicephorus and the patriarch
Nicephorus. St. Theophylact was appointed bishop of Nicomedia by Tarasius and was
active with Michael of Synnada in the council of 815. St. Euthymius, another of Tarasius'
protégés, was appointed bishop of Sardis sometime between 784 and 787. He served on
important diplomatic missions to the Arabs under Irene and Constantine VI and was ac-
tive at the council of Nicaea in 787. Another member of Tarasius' monastic community
was Joseph of Thessalonika, brother of St. Theodore of Studios and great-nephew of

There is no question that the same political structure which allowed icono-
dules to rise to important positions under the empress Irene and the Patriarch
Tarasius operated to the advantage of iconoclasts like Anthony of Sylaion
under the iconoclastic rulers. A youth who was intelligent, well educated, had
a strong religious commitment, an important patron, and good family con-
nections could rise considerably within the monastic world. Monastic life of-
fered opportunities for advancement under the iconophile emperors, and
there is evidence which indicates that this pattern continued virtually unaltered
under the iconoclastic emperors.[22]

The lives of the saints who were drawn from the urban courtly aristocracy
of Constantinople reveal a pattern of religiosity very different from that of
the lives of the popular saints discussed earlier, and a pattern of social uses of
monasticism distinct from that of the middle group just mentioned.[23] Aristo-
cratic families produced relatively few individuals with the type of religious
commitment which led to popular veneration and sainthood. When aristocrats
became involved with the monastic world, they did so through a limited group
of established monasteries, usually on a temporary basis. When an aristocrat
took up a religious vocation, he was most likely to enter the secular church
hierarchy with its close ties with the political life of the Byzantine state around
which the urban elite was oriented.

It is this political factor which may explain the paucity of aristocratic
saints during the iconoclastic period. The dependence of the aristocracy on
the court and state dictated flexibility of conviction as state policy changed
regarding the icons. When the iconoclastic controversy was over, very few re-
ligious figures from this class had maintained the consistency of principle
necessary to the achievement of subsequent recognition as a saint.

When an aristocrat aspired to a religious vocation, he either entered the
formal church hierarchy or took orders in one of the old, conservative, pres-
tigious monasteries in Constantinople.[24] Of these two vocational options, an

Tarasius. Joseph, after a career as an important monk and churchman, rose to the position
of bishop of Thessalonika. Two less well known members of the group were Emilian,
bishop of Cizicos and Eudochias, bishop of Amorion—both appointed by Tarasius from
the same circle. For detailed notes, see Ringrose, "Saints, Holy Men," pp. 107-09, 114-15.

22. The exception may be part of the reign of Constantine V, since there are serious
problems in making an accurate assessment of his well known persecutions.

23. See especially the *Vita* of St. Methodius; St. Nicephorus the Patriarch, in Nice-
phori archiepiscopi; *Vita* of St. Theodore of Studios, in *PG*, XCIX, col. 114.

24. For example, Chenilakos, a monastery built in the reign of Leo the Isaurian, where
St. Methodius first became a monk. Other examples are the Chora, Dios, Sergius and
Bacchus, and Dalmatos where St. Hilarion took his vows.

overwhelming majority of aristocrats adopted the first.[25] The monastic experiences of the aristocrat tended to be confined to temporary sojourns in monasteries which they had founded, and from which they could come and go as they wished. In many cases, individuals with sufficient wealth endowed new monasteries with the intent of eventually retiring to them as monks.[26] Saints drawn from this aristocratic group seldom are cited for the virtues of humility or anonimity. Their sanctity was based on their personal accomplishments and political achievement for the sake of the faith, rather than upon miraculous works or extremes of asceticism.

The gulf between this world and the world of informal religiosity on Mt. Olympus is amply documented in the life of St. Plato. When the aristocratic Plato went to Mt. Olympus, Theocletus the Hermit was skeptical that a man of Plato's birth and high station could stand the rigors of life on Olympus. St. Plato proved that he could endure manual labor, and "even learned to communicate with the peasants on the mountain."[27]

Given this relationship between the aristocracy and the monastic communities, it is not surprising that most aristocratic saints had little monastic background and generally rose to prominence within the secular church hierarchy and accession to the patriarchate. The outstanding exceptions to this are the early Studites. With the limited participation of the aristocracy in monasticism, and later iconophile elimination of iconoclasts from the ranks of sainthood, it is understandable that the list of individuals of aristocratic birth who achieved sanctity during the iconoclastic period is short.

As individuals, aristocratic saints came from that stratum of society which was wealthy, powerful, and associated with the circles around the court. They were predominantly urban and extensively educated; their *vitae* stress aristocratic origin and sophistication. Most of them came from Constantinople and its immediate vicinity. Thus we are dealing with an urban aristocracy involved with the highest levels of civil service, church, or military career—areas in

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25. L. Bréhier, *Le monde byzantine*, 3 vols. (Paris: A Michel, 1947-50), II, 483, observes that from 379 to 705 the patriarchate was held by twenty-five clerics from Constantinople, eighteen officers from within the church of Santa Sophia, one bishop, two laymen, and only three monks. Between 705 and 1204 there were forty-five who were monks, six or seven laymen, six bishops, and only fourteen priests. The dominance of monks, often ascetics, in the latter period is clear and begins towards the end of the ninth century.

26. This generally involved a large endowment for the monastic foundation. To found what would become a retirement monastery, an aristocrat had only to obtain a license from the bishop of his diocese, who then had to consecrate the site. The donor was obligated to maintain the house and at least three monks. It is important to keep in mind that, whatever one's lifetime career, late, if largely formal, vocations were a part of the lifestyle of the wealthy, combining both respectability and a guarantee of care in old age. See J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A.D. 802-867)* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1912), p. 209.

27. *Vita* of St. Plato of Saccudion, in *AASS, Aprilis*, I, 46-54; and III, 39-46.

which any emperor could demand religious conformity. We are specifically told, for example, that Nicephorus' father lost his government post because he refused to conform to the iconoclastic decrees.[28] Ignatius the Deacon, author of the lives of Saints Tarasius and Nicephorus, and a high official in the church of Santa Sophia, was forced to become an iconoclast from 820 to 828. By 845, having reestablished his orthodoxy, he was named bishop of Nicaea.[29] Many highly placed figures in both church and government vacillated from moderately iconoclastic to iconodule positions. In the period after the iconoclastic controversy, an unblemished record on this particular issue was necessary for sanctity.

Despite imperial demands for religious conformity in high office, some staunch iconodules held prominent position under the iconoclastic emperors without compromising their iconophile principles. Four of them were the great iconodule patriarchs of the period: Nicephorus, Germanus, Tarasius, and Methodius. Germanus, of course, was named patriarch before the iconoclastic controversy began.[30] Tarasius served in the iconodule household of the Empress Irene before his appointment as patriarch.[31] Nicephorus moved up through the imperial civil service during the twenty-five year lull between the first and second periods of iconoclasm.[32] He may have served briefly as secretary to Constantine V, but if so he was only sixteen or seventeen years old at the time. Methodius, one of the martyrs of the iconoclasts, was appointed patriarch with the restoration of the icons.[33] His appointment, while reflecting his high birth and education, came as a result of his efforts in opposition to the iconoclastic party. The other aristocratic saints either were sharply opposed to iconoclasm or, according to their *vitae*, did not have much contact

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28. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus*, pp. 56-57.

29. W. Walska-Conus, "De quibudam Ignatiis," *Travaux et mémoires*, 4 (1970), 359. I do not accept the position that Walska-Conus ascribes to Vasilievskii and Lipshits, namely that Ignatius had a long-term commitment to the iconoclastic cause, or that he is the Ignatius who wrote the iconoclastic verses refuted by St. Theodore of Studios. Rather, I am inclined to agree with Walska-Conus that under the pressure of the patriarch John the Grammarian Ignatius temporarily became an iconoclast in order to protect his position.

30. *Vita* of St. Germanus, in *Mavrogordateios bibliotheke anecdota hellenica*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Constantinople: Typois S. I. Boutyra, 1884). This *vita* is reliable only for broad general outlines. Although the editor believed that it had been written soon after the saint's death, current scholarly opinion is more skeptical. the *vita* contains obvious historical inaccuracies and confusions. P. E. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignment et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècles*, Bibliothèque byzantine, Etudes 9 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1971), p. 92, has recently suggested that this is a late *vita* because of the inclusion of the legend that Leo III destroyed the University at Constantinople.

31. I. A. Heikel, "Ignatii diaconi, Vita Tarasii Archiep.," *Finska Vetenskaps-societeten, Acta societatis scientiarum fennicae*, 17 (1891), 395-432.

32. *Vita* of St. Nicephorus Patriarch.

33. *Vita* of St. Methodius, p. 961.

with it. The Studite Saints. Plato and Theodore, were renowned for their role in the Studite reform movement, and both suffered exile; but, because of their high station, neither was physically injured by the iconoclasts.[34] St. Theophanes lived in retirement during most of the critical period and confined his activities and writings to monastic circles.[35] St. Hilarion was somewhat more prominent as *hegumen* of the monastery of the Iveron under Irene and Nicephorus, and as a consequence was subsequently persecuted.[36] St. Evariste only appears after the controversy,[37] while Saints Irene and Philarete either present textual problems or appear to have ignored politics altogether.[38]

It is clear from these examples that unless his timing was very fortunate, it was most unlikely for an aristocrat to rise to high office in the church, government, or monastic community under the iconoclasts while retaining a theological posture sufficiently blameless to allow later sanctification. It is obvious that few aristocrats put their theological convictions ahead of practical considerations, and this easily explains the sample of aristocratic saints for the period. In this, the individuals of this group faced the same problems of the close linkage between conviction, career, patronage, and authority as did the members of the middle group. The one difference was that one or two of these notables were so socially secure as to be immune from direct persecution.

The aristocratic pattern differed from that of the middle-level group in certain other ways. The sons of Byzantine aristocracy were carefully reared and educated, but without much focus on religious vocation. As young adults they pursued office-holding careers in the lay civil service or secular clergy, often following the careers of their fathers. A son rarely was raised with a monastic vocation in mind, and most of the saints in this group only became monks as the result of an adult religious experience or circumstance. Women in this class, however, were frequently designated for the cloister from birth, even

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34. *Vita* of St. Plato; *Vita* of St. Theodore Studios, p. 114.

35. For the panegyric on St. Theophanes by St. Theodore of Studios, see P. Van de Vorst, "Une panegyrique de S. Theophanes le Chronographe par S. Theodore Studite," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 31 (1912), 19-23. This documents his aristocratic birth. See also *Vita* of St. Theophanes of Sigriane in Bithynia, in Theophanes, *Chronographia*. I, 3-30. The text is also in *PG*, CVIII, cols. 18-45.

36. P. Peeters, "S. Hilarion d'Ibérie," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 32 (1913), 236-69.

37. P. Van de Vorst, "La vie de S. Evariste hégoumène à Constantinople," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 41 (1923), 288-326.

38. The role of St. Irene, because of the many textual difficulties which her *vita* presents, is not clear on this point. See *Vita* of St. Irene, *hegumena* of Chrysobalanto, in *AASS, Iulius*, VI, 600-34. Iconoclasm is not an issue in the life of St. Philarete. See V. Vasilievskii, *"Житие святого Филаларепа," Известия русскаго архео, логическаго института в Константинопле*, 5 (1900), 64-86. In any case these last two *vitae* are significantly different from the lives of other aristocratic saints of the period, and are of very limited historical use. For a discussion of their relevance for a study of this kind, see Ringrose, "Saints, Holy Men," pp. 25, 35-36, and 129. n. 18.

during the iconoclastic period.[39] For the most part, therefore, members of this class patronized and founded monasteries, used them as places of refuge or retirement, placed their daughters in them, but did not pursue careers associated with them. Sanctity was little connected with monasticism, and was derived primarily from religious political prominence and the chance of being able to avoid acceptance of iconoclasm.

Monasticism thus appears as a highly varied institution with a series of distinct relationships to the rest of society and appealing in different ways to individuals from various parts of that society. For many the monastic life was the consequence of a genuine vocation and commitment to spirituality. For others it involved a combination of vocation and career. For the very important families it was an object of patronage and occasionally a place of refuge or retirement. There is a distinct correlation between the type of background from which a monk or saint came, the type of commitment he had to the monastic life, and the degree to which he was willing to suffer for the sake of the icons. With a clearer perception of these structural traits, a reexamination of the changes in the position and composition of monasticism during the iconoclastic period becomes possible.

III

We can now relate the fragmentary evidence of the chronicles to the considerable number of random references to iconoclasts scattered throughout the hagiographical corpus in order to reconstruct both the impact of iconoclasm on the monastic world and the evolution of monastic influence on the balance of political power in Constantinople. The historical narrative, as we have seen, tends to lump all monks together and describe degrees of intensity of persecution thereof. In the first instance, this reflects the circular logic of the chroniclers, for whom iconoclastic monks were "false monks" and systematically excluded from the narrative. Yet the iconoclastic emperors were far from consistent towards all monks, even during the worst persecutions. Moreover, in examining the relationships between monasticism and society, it has been shown that middling class monks appear in the *vitae* whose careers put a premium on acceptance of the prevailing doctrine at court, suggesting that at least a part of traditional urban monasticism continued to function despite the exclusion of its members from the chronicles and sainthood.

In fact, while monasticism may not exactly have flourished in the city under the iconoclasts, there is a surprising amount of evidence which indicates that many monks acceded to imperial demands and went on with their business throughout most of the period of the controversies. The evidence includes

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39. Ringrose, "Saints, Holy Men," pp. 126 and 132-43.

numerous references to individual iconoclastic monks, reform-minded monastic leaders, policies which make no sense unless iconoclastic monks existed in some number, and the resilience of many of the traditional houses in the capital in the face of persecution.

Direct references to individual iconoclastic monks appear as early as the first period of iconoclasm, despite the relative poverty of our sources for that period. Constantine V was successful in bribing monks to leave the monasteries, and was not above using them to help bring about the downfall of the patriarch.[40] Itinerant hermit monks who were iconoclasts appear in the sources as identical characters, and iconoclastic monks are described who had political influence over iconoclastic emperors. Leo V, for example, regularly received prophecies from a monk who lived near the baths of Dagistheus, possibly at the monastery of that name.[41] Stauracius, son of Nicephorus, also had as a close political adviser a "pseudomonk" who presumably was an iconoclast and foretold the future.[42] The Emperor Nicephorus is similarly described as influenced by an iconoclastic hermit named Nicholas.[43] This monk apparently developed a considerable following, since Michael I found it necessary to cut out his tongue and imprison him to stop his preaching.[44]

Iconoclastic monks also appear as members of recognized communities or as important officials. St. Michael of Jerusalem, in the course of his itinerant preaching in Asia Minor, found at least one eremitical community which had accepted iconoclasm.[45] In the lives of Saints David, Symeon, and George we are told that Manuel the Magister, an iconoclast, founded a monastery in Constantinople.[46] Among the important iconoclastic office holders were the monks Leontius and Zosimas, who were members of the committee that prepared the iconoclastic *florilegium* for Leo the Armenian. During the reign of Leo V, St. Peter of Atroa is described as twice meeting iconoclastic *hegu-*

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40. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, II, 438.
41. R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantine*, vol. III: *Eglises et monastères de Constantinople* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1953-), 86; George Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, ed. I. Bekker, Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae, 2 vols. (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1838-39), I, 52, line 21.
42. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, II, 475, line I.
43. *Ibid*., II, 496. Nicholas alienated Michael by helping to plot a coup against him. According to Cedrenus, Nicholas lived as a hermit in a hollow architectural column. He had many disciples and actively preached against the images. Nicephorus listened to him and patronized him mainly to vex the patriarch. Cedrenus, I, 39, line 19.
44. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, II, 496.
45. *Vita* of St. Michael, Syncellus Hierosolamitae, ed. Th. I. Schmit, in *Kahrie-Dzhami*, I (= *Izvestiia/Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople*, 11 (1906), 232.
46. According to one legend, Manuel was converted by his own monks. In another version he was converted by the monks of the monastery of Studios. Grégoire considers both of these legends to be hagiographical inventions. See H. Grégoire, "Etudes sur le neuvième siècle," *Byzantion*, 8 (1933), 515-50.

mens.[47] Finally, two of the iconoclastic patriarchs, Constantine, Bishop of Sylaion, and John the Grammarian, were reformed monks. John, the son of a hermit monk, had once even been an icon painter.[48]

Increasingly one finds the monastic communities taking a conciliatory position with regard to the later iconoclastic emperors. This is especially evident in the reign of Theophilus. According to the life of St. Eustratius, the monastery Agaurus, or the Eunuchs, on Mt. Olympus, had long flirted with iconoclasm. Perhaps this is why it was recommended to St. Anthony the Younger as a place of safety! St. Eustratius became *hegumen* in the reign of Michael I, succeeding Gregory, an acknowledged iconoclast. At this point Agaurus was a large and wealthy house. With the reign of Leo V, it was abandoned, only to be quickly repopulated at his death. St. Eustratius returned to find that his flock had turned against the icons, was driven out, and was replaced as *hegumen* by the iconoclast Anthony.[49]

The letters of St. Theodore of Studios reflect similar tendencies. He states that almost all the monks and abbots of the city had gone over to the iconoclasts.[50] In another letter he discusses the *hegumen* of the monastery of Phlubutes. a companion of Peter of Nicaea, who along with Peter joined the iconoclasts. In the same letter Theodore mentions the defections of the *hegumens* of the monasteries of Kathara, Photeinudion, Heracleia, Medikion, Mylion, Hypolichnion, and Gulaion.[51] Anthony, *hegumen* of the monastery of Kios in Constantinople, went over to the iconoclasts in 817.[52] Leonce, *hegumen* of the monastery of Studios, joined the iconoclasts,[53] as did the *hegumen* of the monastery of the Chora.[54]

It is clear that both Leo V and Theophilus were more interested in converting the monastic community than in destroying it. John, patriarch under Theophilus, is known to have "seduced several foolish iconophiles who had been in exile and brought them back to the fold."[55] He began this task as *hegumen* of the monastery of Saints Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople, where iconophile *hegumens* were imprisoned for "reeducation."[56] Among the prisoners were Theophanes of Sigriane, Nicetas, *hegumen* of the Medikon,

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47. Laurent, *La Vie merveilleuse*, pp. 131 and 195.

48. Cedrenus, I, 10, line 23; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 428, line 7; F. Dvornik, "The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 7 (1953), 87.

49. A Hergès, "La Monastère des Agaures," *Echos d'orient*, 2 (1898-99), 237.

50. Theodore of Studios, *Epistolae*, ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, in *Nova patrum bibliotheca* IX (Roma, 1888-), I, no. 165, p. 144.

51. Theodore of Studios, *Epistolae*, ii. 9, in *PG*, XCIX, col. 1140B.

52. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, III, 103-04; Theodore of Studios, *Epistolae*, in *Nova patrum*, no. 41, p. 34.

53. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, III, 444.

54. Theodore of Studios, *Epistolae*, in *Nova patrum*, p. 34.

55. P. Pargoire, "Saints iconophiles," *Echos d'orient*, 4 (1900-01), 352.

56. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, II, 466.

and John, *hegumen* of the Cathares. Other monasteries were also used to in-
duce conversions: the monasteries of Phoneous and Cyclobius both hosted
St. Hilarion, *hegumen* of the monastery of Dalmatius, in hopes of changing
his stance on the iconoclastic issue.[57] Finally, the anathemas of the Council
of 869-70, addressed to all iconoclastic "bishops, priests, or monks," leave no
doubt that some elements of the monastic community remained faithful to
iconoclasm far into the ninth century.[58]

This scattered but considerable evidence for the existence of iconoclastic
monks of all types—hermits, imperial advisers, church officials, *hegumens*, and
patriarchs—prompts a questioning of the thesis that the iconoclastic persecu-
tions caused a significant decline in the number of monasteries in Constanti-
nople. This thesis, drawn from Janin's meticulous study of the monasteries
of the city,[59] is based on lists of monasteries dated 518 and 536 and lists
dated after 780. Between these widely separated dates our information about
the monasteries of the city is very sparse. Frankly, it seems overly bold to as-
sume that all the houses on the early lists flourished until Constantine V ap-
peared to cut them down. The monasteries of Constantinople were apparently
very resilient, and it is instructive to note that all the monasteries supposedly
destroyed by Constantine V had reopened by Nicaea II.[60]

While the monasteries in and around Constantinople were occasionally
closed, and their personnel persecuted, the real outcome was not so much
their destruction as the adoption of iconoclasm by a considerable proportion
of the urban houses. These same pressures for reform were less effective in
isolated areas, and an important center of resistance to iconoclasm developed
on Mt. Olympus. It was here that a part of monasticism, its eremitical "fringe,"
developed new strength, leadership, and organization, becoming a political
force with popular appeal which the authorities ultimately had to acknowledge.

The Olympus area lies in the province of Bithynia south of the Sea of Mar-
mara. A fair number of monks inhabited this area until the sixth century,
when they were drawn away by the increased popularity of the monasteries
of St. Sabas in Palestine and St. Basilius in Cappadocia. The Arab invasion
and the destruction of the monasteries of St. Sabas and St. Basilius brought

57. *Ibid.*, III, 300.
58. Dvornik, "Photius," p. 83.
59. See P. Charanis, "The Monk as an Element in Byzantine Society," *Dumbarton
Oaks Papers*, 25 (1971), 63-84; Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, III, 300; J. Leroy, "La
réforme studite," in *Il monachesimo orientale*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, CLIII
(Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1958), pp. 181-215.
60. Leroy believes that monastic life in Byzantium and Bithynia was almost com-
pletely destroyed by Constantine V. Thus, with the restoration under Irene, men who
were ill-trained filled monastic offices and were unable to restore the institution to its
former vigor. The reforms of Theodore are then presented as a response to this situation.
See Leroy, "La réforme studite." '

Mt. Olympus a new period of activity, and during the eighth century the monastic population of the area grew rapidly. Many new houses were established during this period, and the large number of individuals from the area who attained sanctity in our period attests to the expanding religious influence of this cluster of houses and communities.[61] The lower monasteries around Broussa and Atroa were mainly traditional houses, that of Agaures probably being the largest and wealthiest. These relatively wealthy and accessible monasteries were taken over and administered by iconoclasts imposed by the emperors. The communities higher up the mountain, possibly because they were poor and inaccessible, suffered much less interference of this sort.

The theological arbiter of the mountain was St. Theodore of Studios, the most vigorous opponent of iconoclasm, but also a strong proponent of monastic regulation and discipline. Several *vitae* of the period give a picture of a very fluid, unregulated situation in which monks came and went as they wished, and many individuals were tonsured with little regard for monastic regulation of the traditional sort. St. Theodore consistently opposed the persuit of ἡσυχία as practiced by these hermit communities and their lack of a formal monastic rule.[62]

Yet for all the visibility given St. Theodore because of his dogmatic positions and extensive writings, he was far from dominating the monastic com-

61. Accessible from the port of Medania, monasteries were located in Broussa, Atroa, and on the very slopes of Mt. Olympus itself. Close to the port was the monastic region of Trilia or Bryllium, containing three monasteries of interest to us: Triglia, Medici, and Pelecete (the monastery of St. John the Theologian). Inland toward Mt. Olympus were the towns of Broussa and Atroa, with the nearby monastery of Agaures, commonly called the monastery of the Eunuchs or Calymne. This was a wealthy community with temporal authority over several daughter houses. With the Arabic invasions the monastery moved into Broussa and became the monastery of St. Eustratius, known as the Great Monastery and residence of the abbot general of the Olympus monks. Beyond Broussa the remnants of the Graeco-Roman city of Atroa contained several monasteries, including that of St. Zacharias. Moving up the slopes of Mt. Olympus, one reached four monasteries which appear often in the *vitae*: another monastery of the Eunuchs, Criles and its hermitage of St. Pantaleon; the important monastery of Symboles; and the monastery of Pissadini. Even higher up the mountain were the monasteries of Cathares and Libiana and the extremely important monastery of Saccudion, founded by Saints Plato and Theodore. At least six other monasteries have been identified as scattered throughout the Olympus region. See R. P. Bernadine de Menthon, *Une Terre de légendes, l'Olympe de Bithnyie, ses saints, ses convents, ses sites* (Paris, 1935). A newer work which I have not seen is R. Janin, *Les Eglises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique)* (Paris: Inst. Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1975).

62. Despite the location of St. Theodore's activities on the mountain with its concentration of unregulated eremitics, it is important to remember that the Studites followed a formal monastic rule, with an emphasis on conventuality and scholarship. As such they stand in marked contrast to the eremitical communities around them. Leroy feels that St. Theodore's reform constituted an attempted return to a primitive Christian ideal. The Studite rule stressed cooperation, obedience, humility, and productive labor. Leroy, "Le réforme studite," p. 192.

munities of Olympus. The area was located near important overland pilgrim routes between Nicaea and Nicomedia, and attracted many iconodule refugees. Among these were important bishops and *hegumens*—well educated men with strong personalities. As a result, the houses of the region grew rapidly in number and became significant centers for iconodule resistance.

With the reign of Leo V, even the upper regions of the mountain came under pressure. The monks reacted to Leo's actions by decentralizing their communities. The most vivid description of this is found in the life of St. Peter of Atroa, who gathered his monks together and ordered them to scatter into hermit colonies of three or four men.[63] These small groups ranged widely throughout the mountainous area east of Olympus, where they reopened abandoned hermitages and established new houses. By the reign of Michael II, St. Peter had recognized the need to control the activities of these widely scattered monks and had established a system of dependent houses and even a simple visitational structure serving a triangular region fifty to seventy-five kilometers long and bisected by a major pilgrim route.[64] Laurent has argued that Peter developed this organization under the guidance of Theodore of Studios, but the case is weak and Peter was clearly a strong leader with organizational ability.[65] With the end of the iconoclastic controversy, St. Peter's system of loose, semi-autonomous monastic organization was further strengthened and a central controlling house established at the monastery of St. Zacharia. Although this confederation on Mt. Olympus did not last, it may well have served as a model for the later confederations on Mt. Athos. Certainly the persecutions of the iconoclastic emperors served to nourish and strengthen their opponents in the form of these monastic communities on Mt. Olympus.

Thus it appears that the resistance of the monastic communities to iconoclasm, so apparent in many of the sources, though initially strong and per-

63. Laurent, *Saint Pierre d'Atroa*, p. 97.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 36, discusses this in his excellent introduction to the life of St. Peter of Atroa.

65. Laurent argues on the basis of a second, but incomplete, life of St. Peter of Atroa that the organizational activities of St. Peter on Mt. Olympus were due to the advice, encouragement, and cooperation of St. Theodore of Studios. The hypothesis of Studite direction of Peter's reorganizations depends primarily on the inferred content of a missing passage in the second *vita*, but the inferred content runs contrary to the ascetic and organizational attitudes of the followers of St. Peter. Thus, while Peter and Theodore may well have had more than one meeting, the case is better for maintaining that St. Peter was following a series of organizational policies of his own formulation. There is clear evidence that St. Peter sponsored, on his own, meetings of the chiefs of the monastic opposition to iconoclasm. A similar, though less well documented, center of resistance may also have centered on St. Joannicius, also on Olympus. See St. Sabas, *La vita retractata et les miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa*, ed. V. Laurent (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1958), p. 117. While this fragmentary second life of St. Peter appears to be of almost the same caliber as the complete *vita* by the monk Sabas, Laurent pushes his argument too far.

haps unified, rapidly waned and fragmented. Traditional urban monasticism was quickly reestablished in Constantinople, but without strong iconophile preoccupations, and in many cases in support of the iconoclasts. This pattern also reached into the largest, richest, and most traditional monasteries on Mt. Olympus. As we have seen, this accords with the political preoccupations and social origins of the personnel of these monasteries. At the same time, persecution enhanced the growing influence and cohesion of the eremitical fringes of the monastic world as represented by St. Peter of Atroa, St. Joannicius, and their followers. This development, because of the combination of popular influence and incipient organization which it represented, marks the rise of a major force in Byzantine politics.

IV

The role of the monk is a recurrent theme in discussions of the political and religious upheavals of eighth- and ninth-century Byzantium. But it is far too easy to assert that iconoclasm represented a general attack on monasticism which forced it into decline in the city and hiding in the mountains. The impact of the controversy over the icons upon monasticism was far more complex than that. The controversy separated much of traditional monasticism, with its interconnections with the urban office holding class, from rural monasticism, with its developing eremitical wing. As a consequence, rural monasticism was separated from the moderating and regulating influence of traditional urban monastic communities. At the same time, religious leaders, fleeing the iconoclasts, joined these rural houses and brought them better organization and leadership.

These changes in the monastic world influenced the ultimate outcome of the iconoclastic controversy. The pragmatism of many iconoclasts and the potential political power of rural monks and their followers suggested a compromise position. Central to such an outcome was the appearance of a group of iconodule monks of "middle class" origin, initially patronized and led by the aristocratic patriarch, St. Tarasius. Under Tarasius and St. Nicephorus this group and its successors laid the groundwork for a moderate settlement of the iconoclastic controversy. The details of that story go far beyond the analysis of this article. Nevertheless, their achievements are far easier to understand in the context of the relationship between monasticism and Byzantine society presented here than in the atmosphere of recurrent and general persecution projected by the chronicles of the iconoclastic period. .

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A Research Strategy for Byzantine Archaeology

Byzantine archaeology is in need of an overall research strategy, one which will face squarely the growing problem of site destruction by land use, vandalism and looting, also one which will contribute directly to the study of Byzantine history. Such a research strategy should also contain a clearly stated set of goals and priorities, along with supporting methods and techniques.

Leaving aside for a moment the problem of site destruction, consider how little Byzantine archaeology has contributed to the solution of historical questions, expecially those for which there are few literary texts to rely upon. Whatever contribution archaeology has made to the study of Byzantine art and architecture,[1] its value for Byzantine history has been minimal, even negative

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1. The close association of Byzantine archaeology with the study of Byzantine art and architecture is quite explicit. See for example, O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911); and G. A. Soteriou, Χριστιανικὴ καὶ Βυζαντινὴ ἀρχαιολογία (Athenai, 1942), I, esp. 18-25. The *Reallexikon für byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. K. Wessel, M. Restle (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1963-), has an archaeological emphasis. The reader wishing to compile a bibliography of archaeological excavation reports can consult with profit the *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies, Based on Byzantinische Zeitschrift* Series I: *Literature on Byzantine Art, 1892-1967*, ed. Jelisaveta S. Allen (London: Mansell, 1973-).

The concern that Byzantine archaeology be of greater use for investigating historical problems is occasionally expressed. See A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951), p. 181. Also W. E. Kaegi, Jr., "Some Perspectives on the Middle Byzantine Period," *Balkan Studies*, 10 (1969), 304-07. Clive Foss has expressed such sentiments in "Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1972, pp. 1-4 and 397 ff.; see also *idem*, "The Destruction of Sardis in 616 and the Value of Evidence," *Jahrbüch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 25 (1975), 18-22; and his *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)* (Cambridge and London: Harvard Univ. Press, 1976), pp. x-xi. Finally, there is C. L. Striker, "Byzantine Field Archaeology: The Outlook," *First Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Cleveland, 24-25 October, 1975, Abstract of Papers* (1975), pp. 32-33.

It is interesting to observe parallel concerns in other fields of historical inquiry. For example, see M. de Boüard, "Où en est l'archéologie médiévale?," *Revue historique*, (1969), 5-22; Boüard urges that medieval European archaeology be closely tied to the overall aims of medieval history. See also R. McC. Adams, "Trend and Tradition in Near Eastern Archaeology," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge*, 110 (1966), 106, where it is stated that the most fundamental responsibility of Near Eastern archaeology should be "to contribute its specialized findings to the broader themes of historical study." In the United States, historical archaeology has seldom contributed to broad historical inquiries. Some years ago, J.C. Harrington offered some reasons for this: 1) archaeological data were seldom analyzed and synthesized with reference to historical problems; 2) excavation has seldom

in one particular case, insofar as it obfuscated even further, if that is possible, the very complex problem of the Slavic invasions of Greece in the Early Middle Ages. We might pause briefly to recall this scholarly controversy over the archaeological data from Corinth, partly because it shows Peter Charanis to be an astute and cautious interpreter of archaeological evidence. Furthermore it is interesting to observe his growing conviction that archaeological evidence without the support of literary texts is of little value for the reconstruction of historical development.[2]

The first part of the controversy centered around some weapons and buckles found in two graves in a tower just below the fortified west entrance to Acrocorinth. The buckles were of northern barbarian manufacture, and presumably their owners died attacking Corinth, or defending it once they had conquered it. More than that could not be ascertained, although one scholar identified the graves as Onogur Bulgar and assigned them to an alleged seventh-century capture of Corinth by Onogur Bulgars.[3] Charanis attacked this thesis as a misinterpretation of archaeological evidence, and was concerned lest it undermine the few precious literary sources for this period, especially the Chronicle of Monemvasia. No medieval literary source mentions a seventh-century attack on Corinth, although an Avaro-Slav attack is said to have taken place during the reign of Maurice. Standing especially on the integrity of the Chronicle of Monemvasia, Charanis suggested that these graves might in fact be Avar. The more general point of his reply is that archaeological evidence should be used cautiously and not independently of literary texts for the reconstruction of historical events. In this particular case, not a single literary source mentions the capture of Corinth in the seventh century by barbarians.[4]

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been concerned with problems which appeal to hsitorians; and 3) sites were rarely selected in reference to lacunae in historical data. Harrington believes that "the results of excavations at historic sites will not be of really major value to historians until historians who themselves have formulated specific research problems become archaeologists or have a hand in selecting sites to be excavated." See J.C. Harrington, "Archaeology as an Auxilliary Science to American History," *American Anthropologist*, 57, no. 6 (1955), 1121-30; rpt. in *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*, ed. R.L. Schuyler (Farmingdale. N.Y., 1978), pp. 3-7, esp. p. 5.

2. P. Charanis, "'Observations on the History of Greece during the Early Middle Ages," *Balkan Studies*, 11 (1970), 14; rpt. in *idem, Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, Collected Studies 8 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1972), XXI. A summary of the literature on this problem can be found in A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1968-), III. 145-86.

3. K.M. Setton, "The Bulgars in the Balkans and the Occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century," *Speculum*, 25 (1950), 502-43.

4. P. Charanis, "On the Capture of Corinth by the Onogurs and Its Recapture by the Byzantines," *Speculum*, 27 (1952), 343-50; rpt. in *Studies on the Demography*, XV. Charanis had suggested that these buckles might be Avar in an earlier article; see his "On the Question of the Slavonic Settlements in Greece during the Middle Ages," *Byzantinoslavica*, 10 (1949), 257; rpt. in *Studies on the Demography*, XI.

Charanis in fact believes, and this is based on a passage in the Chronicle of Monemvasia, that Corinth and the eastern half of the Peloponnesus remained in the hands of the Byzantines while Slavs inundated the western Peloponnesus. This view was challenged by A. Bon, who argued that other archaeological evidence from Corinth, namely coin finds, demonstrated that the Chronicle of Monemvasia was incorrect. Bon pointed out that coin finds at Corinth become almost non-existent after the reign of Constans II (641-68) until the ninth century.[5] Charanis replied by again attacking what he felt to be a misrepresentation of archaeological evidence. All such coin finds demonstrated, he wrote, was a deterioration in Corinth's economic life, nothing more. Then he showed that the coin finds at Corinth for the reign of Nicephorus I (802-11) and his immediate successors were hardly more numerous than such finds for the seventh and eighth centuries, even though the city is known from the Chronicle of Monemvasia to have been in Byzantine hands during Nicephorus' reign.[6] In a subsequent article Charanis suggested that a similar pattern of coin finds at the Athenian Agora also demonstrates an economic decline, perhaps best explained by unsettled conditions on land and the Arab threat at sea. Athens, too, is known from literary texts to have been in Byzantine hands during the seventh and eighth centuries, and the same is presumed true for Corinth.[7] Thus Charanis again insisted that archaeological evidence be treated with caution and secondarily to available literary texts.

Another challenge appeared from the distinguished archaeologist of the Athenian Agora excavations, Homer Thompson. Thompson, after studying the archaeological finds for the medieval history of the Agora, concluded that after the second half of the seventh century there followed "a period of well-nigh complete desolation until the area was re-occupied as a residential district in the tenth century."[8] Charanis replied that the "desolation" in the Agora in fact only referred to a lack of material evidence, which is oddly true for the rest of seventh and eighth century Greece: "Indeed the most that can be said about the archaeological finds relating to the Greece of the seventh and eighth centuries is that they are virtually non-existent."[9] This can not be said for li-

5. Bon, pp. 54-55.

6. P. Charanis, "On the Slavic Settlement in the Peloponnesus," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 46 (1953), 98; rpt. in *Studies on the Demography*, XVI. For the Byzantine reconquest of the Peloponnesus by Nicephorus I, see P. Charanis, "Nicephorus I, the Savior of Greece from the Slavs (810 A.D.)," *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, 1 (1946), 75-92; rpt. in *Studies on the Demography*, XIII.

7. *Idem.*, "The Significance of Coins as Evidence for the History of Athens and Corinth in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," *Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*, 4 (1955), 163-72; rpt. in *Studies on the Demography*, XII.

8. H.A. Thompson, "Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267-600," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 49 (1959), 70.

9. Charanis, "Observations," p. 15, esp. n. 52.

terary texts, however brief they may be. Charanis' final conclusion on the importance of such archaeological data for historical reconstruction was as follows: "Monuments, and that includes archaeological finds, are of course very important in indicating a state of culture, but as evidence for the reconstruction of a historical development, are, unless accompanied by texts, of little definite help."[10] This is an opinion with which archaeologists may disagree. Yet can one state that the archaeological evidence from Corinth and Athens, two of the most extensively excavated Byzantine sites, has been of much help to the study of Byzantine history? Certainly there is a plethora of descriptive material which has been published, especially from Corinth, including information about Byzantine pottery,[11] architecture,[12] minor objects,[13] even glass and glass manufacture.[14] Even so, it seems apparent that descriptive presentation has not always been matched by historical analysis and interpretation. Among the reasons for this was a certain disinterest in medieval remains during the early decades of the Corinth excavations.[15]

However, the more general question still remains. Is archaeology basically of little value for the study of Byzantine history? Can all we expect is descriptive data, which indicates "a state of culture," by which is meant predominantly material culture? This is a question which must be considered in some detail, one which bears directly on any proposed research strategy for Byzantine archaeology.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

11. C. Morgan, *Corinth, T. XI, The Byzantine Pottery* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1942). See also T.S. MacKay, "More Byzantine and Frankish Pottery from Corinth," *Hesperia*, 36 (1967), 249-320.

12. R.L. Scranton, *Corinth: Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth,* Results and Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 16 (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies, 1957). See also H.S. Robinson, "Excavations at Corinth, 1960," *Hesperia,* 31 (1962), 95-107.

13. Gladys R. Davidson, *The Minor Objects,* Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies, 12 (Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies, 1952); the Byzantine minor objects are reported on pp. 83-93, 107-22, 227-48, and elsewhere.

14. See *ibid.*, pp. 83-93 and 107-22. See also G.R. Davidson, "A Medieval Glass-Factory at Corinth," *American Journal of Archaeology,* 44 (1940), 297-324. Other references are cited in a recent article by the same author, G.D. Weinberg, "A Medieval Mystery: Byzantine Glass Production," *Journal of Glass Studies,* 17 (1975), 127-41.

15. When the American School of Classical Studies began excavating at Corinth in 1896, the primary purpose was to discover monuments of the classical Greek city. Record keeping of medieval remains was for a long time insufficient, as described by R.L. Scranton: ". . . at first little effort was made to keep detailed records of medieval remains. Very soon the excavators began to keep records of non-classical discoveries, but at this distance of time it is almost impossible to interpret the notations satisfactorily. From the 1920s more useful records are available, and in the early 1930s an effort was made to keep general, systematic accounts according to a coördinated plan. Thus our view of the area as a whole contains some sections which are completely blank, some only vaguely distinguishable, and others with fairly sharp and rounded detail." See Scranton, p. v.

The potential for Byzantine archaeology, it seems to me, is much greater than this. This is expecially true for areas of historical studies where literary sources are lacking to a significant degree. An agrarian history of Byzantium, for example, can never be written if limited exclusively to the extant literary sources.[16] For one thing, the farmer in the literary sources is presented only in his institutional and legal roles as proprietor, lessor tenant, soldier and taxpayer, but not in his more fundamental role as producer of agricultural commodities. What we need to understand, and will never understand from the literary sources, is how land was organized, the way it was actively exploited and the potentialities and limitations of agricultural production, knowledge of which is important in understanding government land policy, land taxation and land aggrandizement. As will be explained momentarily, Byzantine archaeology has the potential to explore these problems of Byzantine agrarian history and could conceivably provide meaningful data toward their solution.

The reconstruction of Byzantine urban and village history, especially for the seventh and eighth centuries will have to be written chiefly from archaeological investigations.[17] The history of industry in Byzantium can be supplemented still further by archaeological research, as can our knowledge of Byzantine trade.[18] A good example of the latter is George Bass's underwater ex-

16. The remarks in the remainder of this paragraph have been extracted from an article by J.W. Nesbitt, "The Life of St. Philaretos (702-792) and Its Significance for Byzantine Agriculture," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 14 (1969), 150-58, esp. 150-51. Nesbitt further comments, *ibid.*, pp. 150 and 151: "Considering the number and type of sources at our disposal, it is not possible to derive a detailed notion about the practice of agriculture at Byzantium. The principal obstacle to our understanding of agriculture, our account of agricultural production must be sketchy."

17. See Dorothy Abrahamse, "Hagiographic Sources for Byzantine Cities, 500-900 A.D.," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan. 1967, pp. 8-9. Hagiographic sources, among the richest sources for Byzantine social history, are almost non-existent for the seventh and eighth centuries (see *ibid.*, p.10). The limitations of Byzantine literature have been much commented upon by Byzantinists, as for example, in C. Mango, *Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered Before the University of Oxford on 21 May 1974* (Oxford: At the Univ. Press, 1975). esp. p. 17: "The dichotomy between literature and a changing reality is, I believe. one of the salient features of Byzantine culture. The business of everyday life was not considered a suitable subject for literary treatment." Yet see, of course, P.I. Koukoules, Βυξαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός (Athinai, 1948-). More pertinent to the question of our knowledge of Byzantine urban history is this additional comment by Mango: "If we ask a simple question such as, 'What was the nature of a provincial Byzantine town in the tenth century?' it is almost impossible to obtain an adequate answer from written records." See C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York: Abrams, 1974), p. 10.

18. No comprehensive analysis of Byzantine trade and industry exists; most economic studies are limited to isolated periods, industries or sources for Byzantine economic history. See Abrahamse, p. 266. For the general economic history of Byzantium, see G. Ostrogorsky, "Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. H. Clapham, *et al.* (Cambridge: The Univ. Press, 1941–), I, 194-223; and S. Runciman, "Trade and Industry in the Byzantine Empire," in *ibid.*, II, 86;118.

cavation of a seventh-century Byzantine shipwreck off the coast of Asia Minor.[19] Bass reconstructed how the ship was built, where it was built, its probable crew (based on the Rhodian Sea Law), and its likely destination. In addition to learning a great deal about Byzantine ship-building methods, about which we heretofore knew nothing, the wreck also produced some of the oldest precisely dated examples of Byzantine lead-glazed pottery.[20] The ship which Bass excavated was modest in its size and cargo, also in the circumstances of its demise. It figures in no Byzantine literary text because it is one of those pieces of everyday life which Byzantine literary texts usually chose not to report. Yet this is precisely where the chief potential of Byzantine archaeology for Byzantine historical studies lies. It can help to reconstruct the fabric of everyday life in Byzantium, interweaving bits of information about how villagers and urban dwellers organized their respective communities, what they ate, how land was cultivated, even how Byzantines built their ships. To put the implications of Bass's work another way, consider this question posed by Lynn White: "Is it really conceivable that there are significant problems that defy solution through the texts simply because they were the sort of thing which people did not normally bother to mention in writing?"[21] Many of the problems which Bass confronted arose directly from the excavation of this shipwreck and could not be solved by literary texts. They were not insignificant problems either. The answer to White's question is indeed affirmative.

The greatest contributions Byzantine archaeology can hope to make are in the areas of demographic, social, and economic history. For example, archaeology could reveal the average size of the Byzantine village, also what factors were important in the location of villages and ·of the structures within those villages. Village populations could be estimated, and percentages of locally produced goods could be compared to those imported. Irrigation methods, water supply, diet, even how cultivation and herding were organized could be investigated. Archaeological inquiry into these and other questions is not as implausible as it might seem at first glance. Prehistorians have been seeking solutions to problems like these for some time, and in fact Byzantine archae-

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19. G. F. Bass, *Archaeology Beneath the Sea: Explorations of an Archaeologist* (New York: Walker and Co., 1976), pp. 133-46.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 138. See also J. W. Hayes, "A Seventy-Century Pottery Group," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 22, (1968), 203-16.

21. L. White, Jr., "Introduction," in *Scientific Methods in Medieval Archaeology*, ed. R. Berger, UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1970), p. 7. See also by the same author "Cultural Climates and Technological Advance in the Middle Ages," *Viator*, 2 (1971), 171-201, esp. 180-81.

ology must to some extent adapt to its own needs the strategy and techniques of the prehistorian.[22]

The means which many prehistorians in the United States and Europe have increasingly turned to in order to find solutions for questions such as the ones mentioned above is the *interdisciplinary regional survey*. To offer just one example of what such a survey can accomplish, with techniques and goals which could be adopted by Byzantine archaeologists, consider briefly the regional survey of Messenia in the southwestern Peloponnesus by the University of Minnesota Messenia Expedition.[23]

The chief characteristics of the Messenia survey are common to other surveys of this type. The geographical context is the region, which is the reasonable scale needed to answer questions about settlement patterns and population density. Great stress is placed on studying the natural environment and man's adaptation to it over time, beginning with the present and working backward. This necessitates an interdisciplinary team of scholars. Special concern is placed on locating former habitation sites, through which demographic and agricultural changes can be studied. Only after a region has been studied in this manner can habitation sites be chosen for excavation which have a high probability of answering the important questions revealed by the survey. The survey, then, always precedes excavation on a large scale at a single site.[24]

This last point can not be stressed enough, for it shows how radically different is this approach from the one traditionally used by archaeologists. Archaeologists have often chosen sites for a variety of reasons, one of the most frequent being an evaluation that the site is important. Without knowledge of the larger regional context of sites, however, such judgments are often faulty. In fact, a single extensive and well published excavation, not based on a previous regional survey, may confer upon a site an importance greatly exceeding its ancient role.[25] For this reason alone what one archaeologist considers

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22. What follows emphasizes the merits of the interdisciplinary regional survey, a good example of which is found in W. A. McDonald and G. R. Rapp, Jr., eds., *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Environment* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1972), though this writer recommends the additional use of probability sampling theory (not used by the expedition) and the creation of finer distinctions for such sites classified simply as "Medieval" in the survey.

The emphasis placed on the Messenia example is not meant to slight the long and distinguished tradition of surface reconnaissance by Byzantinists. In Asia Minor alone, there is the work of Ramsay, Bell, Eyice, Firatli, Gough, Thierry, Harrison, Winfield and others. Perhaps the most interesting reconnaissance in Byzantine lands, and one whose regional focus bears some resemblance to the Messenia project is that of G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord. Le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine*, 3 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1953-58). The importance of this type of regional survey is commented upon favorably by J. du Plat Taylor in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1960), pp. 73-74; and by Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 10.

23. McDonald and Rapp.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-17.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

important in the 1970s his future colleagues in the 1990s may not. These and other reasons may actually bias the results of an archaeological investigation. This is a subject we will return to later.

What the Messenia survey managed to accomplish on this regional basis is difficult to summarize briefly, except for some of the highlights. The general point to keep in mind is that the survey generated the kinds of information which seem fundamentally important to future research on Byzantine demography, and social and economic history. First of all, the following extensive studies were made of the natural environment. The modern climate, geologic history and regional physiography were studied. Special attention was given to changes over time in coastal landforms, such as bars and lagoons, in an effort to identify possible former harbors. Significant springs and wells were noted, and projections were made of the availability of groundwater in ancient times.[26] Regional soil morphology was studied, and one site within Messenia, Nichoria, a site ultimately picked for intensive excavation, had its soil scrutinized. At Nichoria soil studies showed that the ancient residents did not destroy the forest around their settlement and that on one part of the site they probably cultivated vineyards and olive trees.[27] Pollen cores were taken to reconstruct the vegetal history of the southwestern Peloponnesus during the past 4,000 years. Certain vegetal changes during that time could be attributed to human activity. For example, at some time during the Middle Bronze Age or early in the Late Bronze Age, pine woods disappeared from the coastal area around Pylos, probably because of wood-cutting. During Mycenaean times the land was extensively cleared for agriculture, but olives may not have been a major crop. In the early Iron Age, after the kingdom of Pylos fell, the region reverted to a mixed shrubland of oak and evergreen.[28] Metallurgical and geochemical studies made it clear that practically all of the metals used in the Peloponnesus during the Late Bronze Age were imported, which raised a question about the nature and value of those Mycenaean commodities produced for exchange.[29]

Attention was also given to the historical sources for the region. The Linear B documents were studied for possible connections between place-names for Messenia mentioned by Homer and those mentioned on the Linear B tablets. It was concluded that Homer's geographical information was either inaccurate or incorrect.[30] The Greco-Roman literary texts were examined for mention

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26. W. G. Loy and H. E. Wright, Jr., "The Physical Setting," in *ibid.*, pp. 36-46.
27. N. J. Yassoglou and Catherine Nobeli, "Soil Studies," in *ibid.*, pp. 171-76.
28. H. E. Wright, Jr., "Vegetation History," in *ibid.*, pp. 188-99.
29. S. R. B. Cooke, E. Henrickson, and G. R. Rapp, Jr., "Metallurgical and Geochemical Studies," in *ibid.*, pp. 225-33.
30. J. Chadwick, "The Mycenaean Documents," in *ibid.*, pp. 100-16.

of inhabited sites in Messenia.[31] Peter Topping studied Venetian and other documents which yielded important information on site locations, population fluctuations and the rural economy of post-classical times.[32]

The entire present-day agricultural economy of the southwestern Peloponnesus was investigated, partly in order to estimate the number of persons who could have been supported by Messenia's grain production potential. The economy of Karpofora, a small contemporary village adjacent to Nichoria, was also studied as a guide to inferences subsequently made about the economy of the nearby prehistoric site. It was concluded, for example, that an upper limit on the productive capability for ancient communities can be estimated by using as a base the agricultural production of modern communities, also that the modern relationships between land, yield, labor and the schedule of work activities connected with olives, figs and vines provide a good estimate for Bronze Age communities. The construction of a modern irrigation system suggested how easily prehistoric villagers might have done the same. Finally, during the summer modern villagers move from their upland location to houses nearer the river, suggesting a possible seasonal habit of earlier communities.[33]

In addition to investigations of the natural environment, of the historical sources for demographic and topographic information, and of the contemporary economy of one village, great emphasis was placed on locating as many former habitation sites in Messenia as possible, including classical and medieval sites. This was done with the aid of regional maps constructed partly from aerial photographs. A hill-by-hill stereoscopic scrutiny of these photographs located some sites, the remainder being found by surface exploration.[34] After catalogues were compiled of all known sites in Messenia, these data were translated to other maps which displayed the revealed relationships, linkages and boundaries between sites of the same period—in a nutshell, probable settlement patterns and communication networks.[35]

This summary has not adequately covered the wealth of information produced by the survey of Messenia. For our purposes, however, it illustrates an overall strategy which provides a reasonably wide context for the interpretation of archaeological evidence. It also mentions the specific techniques employed, especially the interdisciplinary regional survey. Most important is that this overall approach could be utilized by Byzantine archaeologists seeking in-

31. J. F. Lazenby and R. H. Simpson, "Greco-Roman Times: Literary Tradition and Topographical Commentary," in *ibid.*, pp. 81-99.

32. P. Topping, "The Post-Classical Documents," in *ibid.*, pp. 64-80.

33. H. J. van Wersch, "The Agricultural Economy," in *ibid.*, pp. 177-87; also S. Aschenbrenner, "A Contemporary Community," in *ibid.*, pp. 47-63.

34. J. E. Fant and W. G. Loy, "Surveying and Mapping," in *ibid.*, pp. 18-35; also W. A. McDonald and R. H. Simpson, "Archaeological Explorations," in *ibid.*, pp. 117-47.

35. F. E. Lukermann, "Settlement and Circulation: Pattern and Systems," in *ibid.*, pp. 148-70.

formation about Byzantine demography, and social and economic history which the literary sources do not provide.

One further technique, not employed by the survey and in fact developed only within the last decade, is *probability sampling theory*, a method which helps insure reliable and representative data collection. The use of probability sampling theory by archaeologists is particularly important as an aid in selecting from a regional context individual sites for intensive excavation. As mentioned earlier, an archaeologist's considered opinion that a particular site is important and thus worth excavating, is not infallible. A site may also be selected because it is thought representative of a time period, is large and productive, has ruins above ground, or even because it is accessible by modern roads. Available time and resources are also factors which influence the selection of sites for excavation. It is important to realize that factors such as these are biases, often unreported, which can ultimately distort the interpretations made about the data which is recovered from a site. What all archaeologists want, but may not be getting, is reliable and representative data within the limitations of their restricted time and financial resources. This is basically a definition of the aims of modern sampling techniques, which control and measure the reliability of information through the theory of probability. Traditionally, few sites or regions have ever been thoroughly explored, which means that archaeologists have always "sampled" in the sense of substituting partial for total coverage. Traditional partial coverage may not be reliable or representative, for reasons mentioned above. Probability sampling is the only known means in which the results of a partial coverage survey or excavation can be both reliable and *representative, and only with reliable and representative data can generalizations be inferred from what of necessity is limited archaeological data.*[36]

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36. L. R. Binford, "A Consideration of Archaeological Research Design," in *Contemporary Archaeology: A Guide to Theory and Contributions*, ed. M. P. Leone (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 160-61; rpt. from *American Antiquity*, 29 (1964). The literature on probability sampling theory is lengthy and complex, but a good introduction can be found in Sonia Ragir, "A Review of Techniques for Archaeological Sampling," in *Contemporary Archaeology*, pp. 178-91, rpt. from *A Guide to Field Methods in Archaeology: Approaches to the Anthropology of the Dead*, ed. R. F. Heizer and J. A. Graham (Palo Alto: National Press, 1967), pp. 181-97. More recently there has appeared J. W. Mueller, ed., *Sampling in Archaeology* (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1975). Sampling can be used in intensive surface collection at a single site, and can thus yield data that can make excavation or a regional survey more efficient and productive. There is, for example, the work in Turkey done by C. L. Redman and Patty Jo Watson, "Systematic, Intensive Surface Collection," *American Antiquity*, 35 (1970), 279-91. Locational analysis, another useful tool, uses quantitative techniques to examine spatial relationships between sites and the physical environment. The literature on this subject continues to grow, the latest contribution being that of I. Hodder and C. Orton, *Spatial Analysis in Archaeology* (Cambridge: At the Univ. Press, 1976).

A *statistical random sample* can be used in a regional context, for instance to estimate the total number of sites from various time periods, also their diversity and location preferences. To conduct such a regional random sample a grid is superimposed on a map of the region. In a regional random sample of the upper Reese River Valley of central Nevada, an area about 15 miles wide and 20 miles long, the region was divided up into about 1400 grid squares, each of them 500 meters on a side. Each square was numbered and a 10 percent random sample was selected for complete surveying, using a table of random numbers. The more grid squares selected, of course, the more representative and reliable will be the final results. In any case, the archeologist is able to survey in a scientific manner as many squares as his time and budget will allow. The actual fieldwork then consists of locating each of the grid squares of the random sample and surveying each thoroughly. The upper Reese River Valley project found most efficient a survey crew of six archaeologists, who could survey between one and two such squares daily, depending on accessibility and terrain.[37]

A statistical random sampling design minimizes bias by forcing archaeologists to survey every topographical locale, even those unlikely to be residential sites. Only probability sampling such as this will insure that the sites thus located in a region are representative of the total population of sites throughout the region, not just the archaeological sites which the survey team thought important, had easy access to, or had time to study on a limited budget. Probability sampling also provides data amenable to further statistical manipulation and aids the archaeologist in selecting sites for excavation within the region which are truly representative of the total site population.[38] Needless to say, probability sampling procedures can be used for individual site excavation as well, eliminating the kind of biases which one finds even in such extensively excavated and published Byzantine sites as Corinth.[39]

The regional survey based on probability sampling theory, when it is used primarily to locate sites can be done inexpensively and efficiently by a small team of archaeologists. The interdisciplinary regional survey, however, on the magnitude of the survey of Messenia is more expensive. Most expensive of

37. D. H. Thomas, *Predicting the Past* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974), pp. 37-38. See also Ragir, pp. 182-83.
38. Binford, p. 161.
39. The overall biases are that in the early decades of the excavation medieval finds were not well recorded, and that only a small part of the medieval remains have been excavated. See n. 15 above; also Scranton, p. v: "It is impossible to study the mediaeval architecture outside the Central Area systematically at this time, for the larger parts of the mediaeval city are still unexcavated . . . ." See also S. G. H. Daniels, "Research Design Models," in *Models in Archaeology*, ed. D. L. Clarke (London: Methuen, 1972), p. 214, concerning how the location of trenches within only part of a site produces an unrepresentative sample in the recoveries made.

all is modern excavation, especially with an interdisciplinary team. The Min-nesota Messenia excavation at Nichoria, for example, amounted to six cam-paigns over a period of five years. Seventy-six staff members were involved for at least one campaign and some participated in all of them. Total work hours expended at Nichoria and its immediate environs was about 95,000. To-tal expenses, including final publication, will amount to over $400,000.[40] Bass's underwater excavation of the seventh-century Byzantine shipwreck cost $100,000 and required 1,243 work-hours on the seabed in 211 diving days.[41] Especially important is the fact that public and private financial support for site excavation is increasingly difficult to obtain, partly because of the great expenses involved. In the future, archaeologists will have to provide sound reasons for excavating the sites they want to excavate if they expect funds to be forthcoming. Probability theory used within a regional context is the most reliable means of making and supporting judgments about the merits of a site chosen for excavation and for which funds are requested.

The regional survey based on probability sampling can also be useful in combating the most serious archaeological problem of the last two decades: site destruction due to land development projects and looting. The core of the problem is the great increase in the construction of roads, highways, dams, housing projects, etc., in addition to large scale looting for an illegal antiqui-ties market.[42] Estimates of such damage and destruction on Byzantine sites do not exist, but other reliable estimates indicate the general extent of the problem, especially in the more urbanized parts of the world.[43] The ever-

40. W. A. McDonald, "Preface," to *The University of Minnesota Messenia Expedition Excavations at Nichoria, I: The Site, the Environs and Techniques*, in press.

41. Bass, p. 147. McC. Adams, p. 108, comments on the relationship between rising excavation costs and the quality of work in Near Eastern archaeology. Small staffs are only able to record architectural remains and important artifactual finds, thus leaving very little for later quantitative study.

42. Concerning the illegal antiquities market, see C. Coggins, "Archaeology and the Art Market," *Science*, 175 (1972), 263-66; D. Collier, "Field Museum Policy Concerning Acquisition of Antiquities," *Current Anthropology*, 14 (1973), 514; and K. E. Meyer, *The Plundered Past* (New York: Atheneum, 1973). See also McC. Adams, p. 108: " . . . it is to be noted with regret that even today private commerce in antiquities continues to be a major source of new data for important segments of the field. Such is the case with the Iranian plateau in all periods, and with the Islamic period in virtually all areas."

43. In the United States the situation is particularly acute. It is estimated that in Ar-kansas, for example, one-fourth of all known sites were destroyed by land-use projects from 1962 to 1972; see C. R. McGimsey, III, *Public Archaeology* (New York: Academic Press, 1972), p. 3. In California alone it is estimated that over 1,000 archaeological sites are destroyed annually; see Thomas, p. 32. In England and elsewhere in Europe the threat is equally alarming; see P. A. Rahtz, ed., *Rescue Archaeology* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974).

How threatened are Byzantine archaeological sites? It is difficult to generalize, but certainly in some former Byzantine lands sites of all periods are endangered. In Greece the situation is particularly serious. The heavy tractor-drawn plows in use since World War II permit both deeper and more extensive land cultivation. The result has been a

increasing destruction of what amounts to a non-renewable resource, the archaeological site, is a problem which any research strategy for Byzantine archaeology will have to confront.

Salvage archaeology is also part of the problem of accelerating site destruction, not a solution. The salvage archaeologist is forced to excavate a site which he might not otherwise have chosen to excavate. In fact he may not be adequately trained to excavate it. The most immediate pressures on the salvage archaeologist come from contractors and government bureaucrats who want the job done quickly and this usually means a sacrifice of professional standards. There is rarely enough time and money to provide suitable data and data storage for unknown research problems in the future. The ultimate danger is that salvage archaeology can become a rote exercise, making little real

threat to many archaeological remains, as has extensive post-World War II construction in Athens, where at any given time ancient remains are being brought to light in twenty or thirty points. See H. A. Thompson, "Classical Lands," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 110 (1966), 100-01, esp. 101, where the author remarks that as a result "the harassed service archaeologist is driven desperately from site, unable to give proper supervision to any one excavation or to prepare adequate reports or to plan a program." See also similar remarks by W. A. McDonald, "Suggestions on Directions and a Modest Proposal," *Hesperia*, 35 (1966), 414. The situation has only worsened in the past decade. In *Archaeological Reports, 1976-1977*, 3, H. W. Catling makes this remark about the situation in Greece: "Building works in city, town and village, coastal development for the benefit of tourists, the use of heavy machinery for agricultural purposes, the commission of road-building schemes, the creation of vast new reservoirs, all combine to prepare at a continually accelerating pace of destruction, real or threatened, of the material remains of this country's past." In 1976 the National Archaeological Council of Greece resigned in protest. against the Greek government's decision to build a large shipyard at Pylos, along with steel and cement plants in the vicinity; see S. Roberts, "Monuments vs. the Environment," *New York Times*, 28 March 1976, sec. 4, p. 16.

In Turkey, rescue operations outside Istanbul are becoming more frequent. See for example, *Anatolian Studies*, 18 (1968), 42; 21 (1971), 56; 22 (1972), 25; and 26 (1976). 34-35. R. M. Harrison, who has done much archaeological exploration in Asia Minor, has warned of the need for yet more surface reconnaissance there "if the surface evidence, so vulnerable to modern agricultural and economic development, is to be recovered"; see his "A Note on Architectural Sculpture in Central Lycia,"*Anatolian Studies*, 22 (1972), 187.

In Cyprus, since 1955, the Archaeological Survey has worked to safeguard sites of all periods. See *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1955*, p. 6. In 1975, to give just one recent example, the Archaeological Survey canvassed an area just north of Paphos which was threatened by a land consolidation programme; thirty-three sites, including some medieval sites, were located. See S. Jadhisavvas, "The Archaeological Survey of Paphos. A Preliminary Report," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1977*, pp. 222-31.

The alarming increase of building and industrial expansion along the coasts of South Italy and Sicily has endangered many archaeological sites; see *Archaeological Reports, 1976-77*, p. 43. The problem in Israel has been of serious concern ever since 1948; see S. Yeivin, *Archaeological Activities in Israel, 1948-1955* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1955). One could greatly expand this kind of dreary recitation, but hopefully the reader already sees reason for concern about the preservation of Byzantine archaeological sites. It is certainly possible that before Byzantine archaeology reaches its full potential, its data base will have been seriously eroded.

contribution to the continuing evolution of the research discipline.[44]

When stripped of its essentials, the basic requirements of any overall research strategy for Byzantine archaeology must include the following: a high priority for site preservation and an essential contribution to Byzantine historical studies. The vehicle for satisfying both of these basic requirements is the regional survey. The regional survey, aimed primarily at locating sites, sacrificing if necessary some of the many possible environmental studies, using probability sampling theory, can be done inexpensively when compared to rising excavation costs.

The advantages of such a limited regional survey with regard to site preservation are as follows. First of all, even though only a fraction of all Byzantine sites will ever be known, the use of probability sampling theory over a region allows one to predict with statistical probability where other Byzantine sites are likely to be located. The basis for this is that distributions of archaeological sites often correlate well with environmental features. A sampling-based regional survey, aided of course by whatever historical information there may be, can help make more intensive surveys over smaller areas feasible by eliminating some types of locations from further consideration. In fact if archaeologists using these survey methods worked in the early planning stages with public land developing agencies, as they are required to do in the United States by federal law, the threat of site destruction could be considerably alleviated. Alternate routes for roads could be planned so that they do not endanger important sites and if preservation is not possible, plans could be worked out in advance for salvage. To be possible this kind of cooperation must come in the early planning stages of a land development project, not when the bulldozers are about to begin moving the earth.[45]

The Deserted Medieval Village Research Group of England provides an excellent example of what can be done to combat site destruction with minimal staff and funds. For more than a decade the group surveyed the English countryside for deserted medieval villages. They did not use recently developed probability sampling theory, but relied on their own experience and historical documentation. By 1965 they had recorded the location of 2,000 deserted medieval villages in England. Of these 2,000, 246 sites had been destroyed prior to

44. See W. D. Lipe, "A Conservation Model for American Archaeology," *The Kiva*, 39 (1974), 229-42; also T. F. King, "A Conflict of Values in American Archaeology," *American Antiquity*, 36 (1971), 255-62. In 1966 William A. McDonald proposed that foreign archaeologists cooperate with the Greek Archaeological Service in a coordinated surface exploration ahead of the bulldozers: "The known sites where everyone clamors for a permit to begin or continue excavation can wait; the less obvious, undetected sites and monuments, now so gravely threatened, cannot." See McDonald, "Suggestions," pp. 414-15. There was no significant response to this appeal.

45. U.S. federal legislation mandates archaeological investigation in the early planning stages of federal and federally assisted construction and land-use projects. On this see T. F. King, *Methods for Archaeological Evaluation and Reporting on Federal-Involvement Projects*, Archaeological Resource Management Service, New York Archaeological Council (New York, 1975).

1939 by plowing and building activity over a period of about five hundred years. From 1939 to 1952, 36 sites were destroyed. From 1952 to 1965 there was a remarkable increase in the tempo of destruction with 201 threats reported to deserted medieval sites. In other words during a recent twenty-five year period (1939 to 1965) as many sites were threatened with destruction as during the previous five hundred years. Moreover, by 1965 already 144 of the 201 most recently threatened sites had been destroyed.[46]

The English government was able to carry out excavations on only about 25 threatened villages, further work being impossible due to limited funds and the high cost of excavation. With this in mind, the group recommended that 200 to 250 sites which they estimated to be of significant value be preserved. This proving impossible, it divided the country into 54 regions and strongly recommended that one site in each region be preserved at all costs.[47]

The regional survey, especially when used with probability sampling and an interdisciplinary approach, can also yield important information about Byzantine demographic, social and economic history. Some of the specific problems susceptible to this kind of archaeological strategy were mentioned earlier. Another problem for which archaeological inquiry would be useful is the manner in which the Slavs in Greece were Hellenized. Charanis has written that "what is striking about the historical evolution of these Slavs is that they lost their identity and became Greeks."[48] Just how this came about is a problem of great interest and one about which, in the absence of pertinent literary texts, must remain speculative.[49] Yet if such survey techniques as have just been described were used to identify medieval village sites in Greece, it might ultimately be possible to identify some as Slavic.[50] The prospect of a comparative study of a Greek and Slavic village is most exciting to contemplate, and holds much promise for revealing at least some of the processes of acculturation through which the Slavs became Greeks. Also, such a study would build upon an already critical examination of the literary sources by Peter Charanis and would provide an appropriate tribute to this exceptional scholar.

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46. *Deserted Medieval Villages*, ed. M. Beresford and J. G. Hurst (Guildford and London: Lutterworth Press, 1972), pp. 135-36 and 303-04.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 304-05.

48. Charanis, "Observations," p. 34.

49. *Ibid.* See also Judith Herrin, "Aspects of the Process of Hellenization in the Early Middle Ages," *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 68 (1973), 116.

50. Sinclair Hood has suggested that the distribution and density of Slavic settlements in South Greece, also the possibility that some of the native population took refuge on small off-shore islands, could be investigated archaeologically. See his "Isles of Refuge in the Early Byzantine Period," *ibid.*, 65 (1970), 37-45, also his "An Aspect of the Slav Invasion of Greece in the Early Byzantine Period," *Sborník Národního Musea v Praze*, 20 (1966), 165-71. At the moment, despite the evidence of many place names of Slavic origin (see M. Vasmer, *Die Slawen in Griechenland* [Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kommission bei W. de Gruyter, 1941]), the only tangible remains of the Slavs in the Peloponnesus are from cremation burials at Olympia. See 'Αρχαιολογικων Δελτίων, *1961-62*, p. 106.

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The Theory of the Pentarchy and Views on Papal Supremacy in the Ecclesiology of Neilos Doxapatrius and His Contemporaries

In the year 1143, the Italo-Greek monk Neilos Doxapatrius wrote a work entitled Τάξις τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων (Arrangement of the Patriarchal Thrones),[1] in which he traces the origin and historical development of the five great patriarchates of the Christian Church. The work was composed at the command of the Norman King Roger II.

The task of establishing the motives which may have prompted Roger to seek the composition of a work of this nature would properly constitute a paper in itself. Modern historians of the period offer varying opinions. V. Laurent believes that Roger was motivated by intellectual curiosity concerning the formation and the development of the five patriarchates of Christianity, but, he adds, the intentions of the Norman ruler in commanding the work appear very uncertain. Ferdinand Chalandon discounts the possibility that Roger II seriously thought to resubmit the dioceses of Southern Italy and Sicily to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, extrapolating this idea from Neilos' work. Rather, in examining this very question, Roger wished to exert the pressure of a potential detaching of the Kingdom of Sicily from the ecclesiastical sphere of the pope in order to lead the papacy to an understanding with him. Antonio de Stefano, while describing Neilos' treatise as a representation of the lively resistance offered by the Byzantine stratum of the population of Roger's kingdom to the Latinization policy pursued by the Normans, feels that the personal influence of Roger II, for motives of a political nature, was not foreign to the treatise. Edmund Curtis believes that Roger saw in Neilos' work an ally in his struggle with the papacy—a warning to Rome that Roger possessed the power to submit his kingdom to the ecclesiastical authority of Constantinople, and become, as Curtis characterizes the *basileus,* the temporal master of the Church. Francesco Giunta, in agreement with Laurent, states that Roger's motives in commissioning Neilos' work pro-

1. Hierocles, the Grammarian, *Synecdemus et Notitiae graecae episcopatuum, Accedunt Nili Doxapatrii notitia patriarchatuum et locorum nomina immutata,* ed. G. Parthey (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1967), pp. 265-308; Συντάγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, ed. G.A. Rhalles, 6 vols. (Athinai: Γ. Χαρτοφυλακος, 1852-59), V, 486-90; and *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina,* [hereafter, *PG*], ed. J.P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris: Lutetiae, 1857-66), CXXXII, cols. 1083-1114.

ceeded from that same thirst for knowledge which caused the Norman king to commission the great geographical treatise of Edrisi. On the other hand, E. Caspar believes that Roger II's intention was to accede to the views of Neilos and to re-establish the Byzantine patriarch in his ancient rights in Sicily and Calabria.[2]

The extant biographical data regarding Neilos Doxapatrius is extremely sparse, having been culled from literary sources attributed to him, such as the document in question,[3] a eulogy of Saint Athanasius,[4] some marginalia for Saint Athanasius' *Oratio I Contra Arianos*,[5] a work entitled *De oeconomia*,[6] and several other works of a spurious or contested nature.[7] From these relatively few sources, it has been established that Neilos held offices of some importance in both the civil and ecclesiastical administrations in Constantinople during the first half of the twelfth century: *nomophylax* of the emperor, deacon of Saint Sophia, notary of the patriarchate and *protoproedros* of the *protosynkelloi*. The richness in documentation of his history of the five patriarchates may have resulted from the access he would have had to the patriarchal archives while in Constantinople, as well as his personal observations of the several Byzantine-Latin conferences concerned with the question of Church unity, which were promoted by the Comnenian emperors as part of their general policy towards the West.[8] His career was inexplicably terminated under

2. V. Laurent, "L'Oeuvre géographique du moine sicilien Nil Doxapatris," *Echos d'Orient*, 36 (1937), 16-17; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie A. Picard et fils, 1907), II, 104, 110-11, and 295-96; Antonio de Stefano, *La cultura in Sicilia nel periodo normanno* (Bologna: N. Zanichieli, 1954), pp. 31-33 and p. 46; E. Curtis, *Roger of Sicily and the Normans in Lower Italy, 1016-1154* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), pp. 277-78; F. Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna* (Palermo: G. Priula, 1950), pp. 155-57; E.L.E. Caspar, *Roger II (1101-1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie*(Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagnerschen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1904), pp. 346 sq.

3. Hierocles, pp. 265-66.

4. *PG*, XXV, cols. cclxxviii B-cclxxx B.

5. *Ibid.*, XXVI, CXVI, cols. 116 (n. 41), 548 (n. 52), and 556 (n. 85).

6. See G. Mercati, "Il codice messinese del Doxapatres," in *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d'Italia e di Patmo*, Studi e Testi, 68 (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1935), pp. 75-76. 3p. 75-76.

7. Mercati, *Per la storia*, pp. 76-79; Laurent, pp. 6 ff.; H.G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur in byzantinischen Reich*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 12 (München: Beck, 1959), pp. 619-20; Giunta, p. 155; S. Vailhé, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangeot, *et al.*, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1905-50), 4. 2: 1821; and *PG*, CXXXII, cols. 1079-84.

8. Laurent, pp. 13-14 (he also gives all the available data concerning the family of Doxapatrius, which was apparently a prominent Byzantine family: p. 10); Beck, p. 619; *PG*, CXXXII, *Notitia*, cols. 1079-84; for the policy of the Comneni, both in its ecclesiastical and political aspects, toward the West, see P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer: Ricerche sui rapporti fra Bizanzio e l'Occidente nel secolo XII,* Instituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo. Studi storici, fasc. 14-18 (Roma, 1955-); J.A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graeca* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1966-), V, c. xxvii, p. 19.

John II Comnenus. Leaving Constantinople, he returned to Sicily where he entered monastic life, at that time assuming the name Neilos in place of his baptismal name of Nicholas.[9] It was in the Italo-Greek monastic milieu of Southern Italy, in which Byzantine culture was still vibrant and predominant despite the effective loss of Byzantine political hegemony in this area, that Neilos wrote his historical account of the five patriarchal sees.[10]

In the introductory remarks to his work, Neilos tells us that he has written his history of the five patriarchates "according to the command of the great and most noble king Roger," and that it was accomplished, "in the year 6651, indiction VI."[11] He then addresses himself to Roger, saying, "My most illustrious lord, concerning the affair about which you wrote to me, I recall that when I was in the castle of Palermo I wrote in answer to your question, except not as extensively as you now have asked." This allusion to a previously written shorter work based on the same theme as the fuller account he is now presenting to Roger may have been an Epitome of ecclesiastical geogrpahy, which does not appear to have survived.[12]

In his account of the five patriarchal sees, Neilos combines an extensive historical knowledge of both political and ecclesiastical affairs with accute observations on the interpretations of these affairs. His impressive familiarity

9. Laurent, pp. 12 and 14; Mercati, *Per la storia*, pp. 78-79; and Giunta, p. 155.

10. For an account of this Italo-Greek cultural milieu of Southern Italy, expecially in its monastic aspect, see N. Ladomerszky, "L'Influsso del monachismo basiliano greco sulla vita culturale dell'Italia meridionale," in *Atti dello VIII Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini, Palermo 3-10 aprile 1951* [hereafter, *Atti dello VIII Congresso*], 2 vols., Studi bizantini e neoellenici, vols. 7-8 (Roma: Associazione nazionale per gli studi bizantini, 1953), I, 395-96; M. Scaduto, *Il Monachismo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale: Rinascità e decadenza, sec. XI-XIV* (Roma: Edizioni di "Storia e letteratura," 1947); S. Borsari, *Il monachismo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell' Italia meridionale prenormanne,* Istituto italiano per gli studi storici in Napoli, 14 (Napoli: Nella sede dell'Istituto, 1963); C.G. Bonis, "The Greek Ecclesiastical Community of Southern Italy and of Sicily in the Second Period of the Iconoclastic Struggle (787-843)," in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo, Atti del Convegno Storico Interecclesiale,* Italia Sacra, Studi e documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica, 20 (Padua, 1973-), I, 153-80; P. Kukules, "I greci dell'Italia meridionale ed i costumi bizantini," in *Atti dello VIII Congresso,* I, 394; G. Schirò, "L'Agiografia italo-greca: Motivi del decadimento e della dispersione dei culti," in *ibid.,* II, 40-46; and A. Guillou, "Les Populations grecques de Calabre et de Sicile au Moyen Age," in *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Ochride 10-16 septembre 1961,* 3 vols. (Beograd, 1963-64), II, 139-48.

11. Hierocles, p. 265 (no. 2). The dubious nature of the title of archimandrite given to Neilos in the opening sentence of this same paragraph is discussed by Laurent, pp. 7-8, and mentioned by Beck, p. 620. Neilos himself states that he has undertaken his work not only as a result of Roger's command, but "with the exhortation of my holy father," Hierocles, p. 266 (no. 4), which would indicate a monastic status inferior to that of an archimandrite, as he was, in fact, acting in accordance with a command of his monastic superior. See also, L. Sternbach, "Eugenios von Palermo," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 11 (1902), p. 410, n. 4.

12. Laurent, pp. 22-23; Beck, pp. 152 and 620; and Giunta, p. 156.

with the canons of the various Church councils and with ecclesiastical geogra-
phy would tend to confirm the fact that he had been entrusted with an office
which permitted him to acquaint himself with the archival documents of the
Patriarchate of Constantinople. At the same time, he displays a keen awareness
of political events in Western Europe, as revealed especially in his account of
the Papacy's relations with Pepin and Charlemagne.[13] All of these qualities
coalesce to produce a work of considerable historical importance, as regards
both what it has to tell us of the origin and development of the five great pa-
triarchal sees, as well as of the revelatory picture it gives us of a highly intelli-
gent and prominent representative of the Byzantine-inspired culture of Sici-
ly and Southern Italy, which did not expire with the Norman conquest of Ba-
ri in 1071.[14]

In this article, I have chosen to concentrate on Neilos' ecclesiological views
as enunciated in his treatment of the conception of the Pentarchy as constitu-
ting the basic structure for the administration of the Church and, ancillary to
this, his response to the claims of the bishop of Rome to a primacy over the
whole Church, which exceeded a simple primacy of honor. I have sought to
compare the views and ideas of Neilos with those of his Byzantine contempo-
raries, using the term "contemporary" to apply to individuals contained with-
in a temporal span running from approximately the mid-eleventh century to
the mid-twelfth century. Ideas on the Pentarchy and papal supremacy put for-
ward by Byzantine writers before or after this period are not discussed, as this
would expand the scope of this paper beyond those limits I believe appropriate
to its theme.

The very title of Neilos' work, *Arrangement of the Patriarchal Thrones*,
presupposes that the ecclesiological conception of the Pentarchy would be
treated by him. In discussing it, Neilos employs the analogy of the five senses
as symbolic of the five patriarchates. He states:

Because it was necessary for the body of the Church to be perfect,
of which the one head is Christ, the whole body with the five, not four,
senses governing, because of this the Holy Spirit ordered that there be
five patriarchates, they are one body and one church, the role of the
senses being played by the five patriarchates. For just as every living
body is governed by the five senses, if a certain one of the senses de-.
serts, the body is imperfect, and thus the Church of Christ being all one
body and one firm in the the faith in Christ the Son of God is governed
by the five patriarchates just as the body by the senses.Which patriarch-
ate functions in which sense it is not to say at the present time.[15]

13. Hierocles, pp. 305-08 (nos. 375-82).
14. Assessments of the value of Neilos' history have been preponderately laudatory:
Caspar, pp. 458, and 470 ff.; Laurent, pp. 6 and 13-14: de Stefano, pp. 31-33; and Giun-
ta, p. 157. But see Mercati, *Per la storia*, pp. 75-76.
15. Hierocles, p. 286 (nos. 192-93).

Neilos' position is consonant with the theory of the Pentarchy put forward by the mid-eleventh century Patriarch Peter III of Antioch in his letter to the Archbishop Domenicus of Grado. In challenging the use of the title patriarch for the chief ecclesiastic of Aquileia or Venetia, which he says was never known, Peter states that in the whole world there has been arranged by divine grace for there to be five patriarchates, those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. He adds, however, that they should not all be properly called patriarch, for this is to misuse the term; but the pontiff of Rome, pope, the bishop of Constantinople, archbishop, the bishop of Alexandria, pope, and the bishop of Jerusalem, archbishop. Only the bishop of Antioch is specifically called patriarch; and this Domenicus could discover if he attentively searched all the writings.[16] Peter employs the analogy of the five senses when he tells Domenicus that the body of a man, in which there are many members, is lead by one head; and everything is regulated only by the five senses, which are: sight, smell, hearing, taste, and touch. In turn, the body of Christ is the Church of the faithful, the various peoples, like the members of the human body, joined together, and regulated by the five senses, the aforementioned great sees, lead by the one head, Christ Himself. He adds that just as there is not another sense beyond the five senses, there likewise cannot be another patriarch beyond the present five.[17] In treating the question of the *azimus*, Peter remarks that the vote of a majority of the patriarchs has force, but one is nothing. In citing the relevant passage from Saint Matthew (xviii 20), he asks if anyone can deny that God is present among them when the four patriarchs are in agreement.[18]

Although the theory of the Pentarchy *per se* does not enter into the discussions held between Nicetas, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, and Anselm of Havelberg in 1136,[19] Nicetas, in detailing the role played by the Eastern bishops in suppressing heresy in conjunction with the pope, does imply a collegial basis of authority within the Church. Nicetas tells Anselm that the archives of Saint

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16. *PG*, CXX, col. 757. 3. For Peter of Antioch, see Beck, p. 535.

17. *PG*, CXX, col. 760. 4. Neither Neilos nor Peter of Antioch ascribe a particular sense to a particular patriarchate. Some other writers who have employed the analogy of the five senses, and who have equated a patriarchate with a specific sense are George Trapenzuntius, who, in the fifteenth century, represented Rome with the sense of touch, Constantinople with the sense of taste, Alexandria with that of sight, Antioch with the sense of hearing, and Jerusalem with that of smell (see *PG*, CLXI, cols. 853A-856C); earlier, in the ninth century, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in the preface to his *Interpretatio Synodi VIII Generalis*, assigns to Rome the sense of sight, but does not make any other representations as regards to the other senses and the other patriarchates. See *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, [hereafter, *PL*], ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: J.P. Migne, 1844-64), CXXIX, col. 16B.

18. *PG*, CXX, col. 776. 21.

19. *Dialogi Anselmi Havelbergensis episcopi*, in *PL*, CLXXXVIII, cols. 1139-1248; see also J. Darrouzès. "Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine," *Révue des études byzantines*, 23 (1965), 65.

Sophia contain the accounts of the deeds of the popes and the acts of the councils and it would be shameful for the Byzantines to deny the part played by the popes in combatting heresy; however, he adds that neither the pope nor his agents would have had a role in the condemnation of heresy in the East without the agreement, judgment, and support of the Eastern bishops, who, zealous for the faith, sometimes with the Church of Rome and sometimes without it, condemned heresies and confirmed the correct Catholic faith.[20]

As far as his views on the Pentarchy are concerned, Neilos reflects the prevailing position in the Byzantium of his day, the belief that the Christian Church ought to be governed by a principle of collegiality. The type of collegiality which might be extrapolated from a letter sent by the Emperor John II Comnenus to Pope Callixtus II in April of 1126.[21] In his letter, redolent with echoes of the Gelasian authority of the "two-swords," John states that the spiritual power is one of the two distinct facts reason acknowledges in our polity, the other being the earthly power. The spiritual power was given by the first and great universal pontiff, Christ, the peaceful *basileus,* to his holy disciples and apostles, a select gift, by which the servants of the word loose and bind the deeds of men.[22] John thus asserts that the spiritual power is a corporate gift, not one given to a particular apostle exclusively, but to all of them.

After having presented his exposition of the theory of the Pentarchy, Neilos proceeds to a consideration of the several canons promulgated by ecumenical councils, which elevated the see of Constantinople to patriarchal status, and thus, by creating the fifth patriarchate, made the Church perfect, as the five senses make the human body perfect. He writes of the Council of Constantinople in 381:

> Because it was necessary for there to be five patriarchates on account of the aforementioned cause, for this reason the Holy Spirit moved the holy and second ecumenical council in Constantinople, which against Macedonius, fighting the Holy Spirit, was gathered under the Emperor Theodosius the Great from Spain, in the presence of all the chief ecclesiastics and the great patriarchs, that is Pope Damasus of Rome and the bishop of Antioch, enjoined, through a canon, Constantinople to have the same privileges as the older Rome. In truth, the third canon of the same synod said: "Indeed the bishop of Constantinople has the rank of honor after the bishop of Rome, because it is itself the new Rome."[23]

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20. *PL,* CLXXXVIII, col. 1228C.

21. Letter of the Emperor John II Comnenus, in S. P. Lambros, "Αὐτοκρατόρων τοῦ Βυζαντίου χρυσόβουλλα καὶ χρυσᾶ γράμματα," Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 11 (1914), 94-128.

22. *Ibid.,* p. 109.

23. Hierocles, pp. 286-87 (nos. 194-95).

It is when Neilos takes up the celebrated Twenty-Eighth canon of the fourth
ecumencial council of Chalcedon (451) that he begins to shift his ecclesiologi-
cal position in a direction which will take him away from the theory of the Pen-
tarchy: and which, because he vehemently contests the Roman claim of papal
primacy within the Church, will lead him to an extreme position that proclaims
an ecclesiastical primacy for the see of Constantinople. Neilos quotes the
Twenty-Eighth Canon of Chalcedon:

> Following wholly the terms of the holy fathers, and being acquaint-
> ed with the canon lately read out and composed by the 150 God-loving
> bishops gathered in the capital of Constantinople New Rome at the time
> of the Emperor Theodosius the Great of blessed memory, we order and
> decide the same things regarding the rank of the most holy church of
> the same Constantinople New Rome. For to the patriarchal throne of
> the older Rome, because that city was the imperial city, the fathers pro-
> perly conceeded the primacy; thus moved by the same purpose, the 150
> most God-loving bishops bestowed the same rank to the most holy patri-
> archal throne of New Rome, reasonably judging the city, which is ho-
> nored by the presence of the Emperor and Senate, to enjoy the same
> rank as the older Rome, and to be exalted in ecclesiastical matters like
> the latter, being second after that one [Rome]. . . .[24]

He employs this canon to refute "those foolish ones who say Rome should
be preferred in honor because of Saint Peter."[25] With Canon Twenty-Eight
of Chalcedon as the foundation of his argument, Neilos declares that Rome
had the primacy and Canon Twenty-Eight was applicable to that see as long
as it was the imperial capital. When Rome ceased to be an imperial city, when
she was captured by the barbarians, "she lost entirely also her primacy because
she had held it as being an imperial city. And the throne of Constantinople,
the true imperial city, remained first, since the first (throne) ceased to rule."[26]
The primacy of Constantinople is thus predicated upon the political fact that
she remained an imperial capital, while Rome no longer enjoyed that distinc-
tion. Neilos adds, "You see in what manner they ordered the sees according
to imperial power [the Empire] . . . ."[27] A bit later, while discussing the no-
menclature appropriate to each of the patriarchs, Neilos once again unequi-
vocally proclaims the primacy of Constantinople: ". . . the patriarch of Con-
stantinople signs himself archbishop of New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch,
for he took the primacy and privileges of Rome; for Rome was firstly queen

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-88 (nos. 196-97).
25. *Ibid.*, p. 289 (no. 199).
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-90 (nos. 200-01).
27. *Ibid.*, p. 291 (no. 203).

of the world, then afterwards Constantinople. . . ."[28]

The open proclaiming of an ecclesiastical primacy for the see of Constantinople by Neilos is a position which not only destroys the theory of the Pentarchy as completely as do the papal claims of supremacy within the Church, but does not appear to be representative of the thinking of his contemporaries, with one very important exception. John Zonaras, one of the three great canonists of the twelfth century,[29] is in fundamental disagreement with Neilos in interpreting the Twenty-Eighth Canon of Chalcedon.[30] Rome did not cede her honor or rank to Constantinople, for the preposition μετά in the canon does not refer to a temporal succession, but signifies a question of honor or dignity. Zonaras reinforces his contention by quoting from a statement made by the Patriarch Nicephorus regarding the condemnation of the iconoclasts, in which Nicephorus refers to the older Rome as the first apostolic see.[31]

The two other great canonists of the twelfth-century, Alexius Aristenus[32] and Theodore Balsamon,[33] while not taking the position of Zonaras in explicitly denying any lessening of the rank and privileges of Rome as a result of the Twenty-Eighth Canon of Chalcedon, do not, on the other hand, interpret it as does Neilos. Aristenus says of this canon, "The bishop of Constantinople is equally honored with the bishop of Rome and enjoys the same privileges, because it is honored by the imperial government and the senate."[34] Similar to Aristenus is Theodore Balsamon's presentation of Canon Twenty-Eight. The see of Constantinople has the privileges of the Church of Rome and is second after it.[35]

In the mid-eleventh century, Nicetas of Nicaea, who, before ascending the episcopal throne of Nicaea was *chartophylax* of the Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote a brief work on the schism which had arisen between the East-

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28. *Ibid.*, p. 292 (no. 206).

29. See Beck, pp. 656-57.

30. *PG*, CXXXVII, cols. 488-89: "Βιάζονταί τινες κατασκευάζειν μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι τῇ τιμῇ τὸν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον τοῦ θρόνου τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῾Ρώμης, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἴσων πρεσβείων ἐκείνῃ καταπολαύειν."

31. Concerning the preposition μετά, see *ibid.*, col. 489: " ῾Ως γάρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων θρόνων ἡ μετὰ πρόθεσις ὑποβασμὸν δηλοῖ, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐτέθη. καὶ οὕτω νοεῖσθαι χρεών."

32. Beck, p. 657; see also *PG*, CXXXIII, cols. 61-62, for some biographical data.

33. Beck, pp. 657-58.

34. *PG*, CXXXVII, cols. 489 and 492: "᾽Ισότιμος ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τῷ τῆς ῾Ρώμης ἐπισκόπῳ, καί τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύσει πρεσβείων, διὰ τὸ βασιλεία τε καί συγκλήτῳ ταύτην τιμηθῆναι. . . ."; in his *Synopsis of All the Canons*, Aristenus presents Canon Twenty-Eight of Chalcedon with a significant final clause: ᾽Κή ῾Ο τῆς νέας ἐπίσκοπος ῾Ρώμης τῷ τῆς παλαιοτέρας ὁμότιμος, διὰ τὴν τῶν σκήπρων μετάστασιν. (The bishop of New Rome is held in equal honor with the bishop of the older one, on account of the transfer of power [lit. removal of the sceptres].)," in *PG*, CXXXIII, col. 89D. Beck, p. 657, says that this *Synopsis* is attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes.

35. *PG*, CXXXVII, col. 485.

ern and Western Churches.[36] In a clear reference to canon Twenty-Eight of Chalcedon, Nicetas takes a strongly hostile attitude to the see of Constantinople. He writes that the remonstrances of Pope Leo the Great, concerning the placing of the dioceses of Thrace, Pontus, and Asia under the Patriarch of Constantinople, were futile, for Constantinople seized these dioceses, and from that time, the bishops of Constantinople have not ceased to increase their plunder.[37]

Throughout his work, Neilos rather consistently evinces an attitude of animosity and contempt for the pope. In describing the transfer of the sees of Sicily, Calabria, and Santa Severina from Rome to Constantinople,[38] Neilos states this occurred "when the barbarians seized the pope, and captured and made Rome their own."[39] Again, in reference to the Duchy of Longobardia he writes that it "was under the rule of Constantinople, the pope having withdrawn was in very truth under another people . . . when the Franks occupied this duchy, then the bishop of Rome ordained in all these churches."[40]

Neilos' attitude toward the pope is one not shared unanimously by his contemporaries. In the above-mentioned dialogues between Nicetas of Nicomedia and Anselm of Havelberg, Nicetas remarks that he neither denies nor rejects the primacy of the Church of Rome, for one may read in the ancient histories that there were three fraternally-linked patriarchal sees, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, among which Rome, the most eminent see of the empire, obtained the primacy. It was called the first see and to it doubtful ecclesiastical causes should be appealed from all the others; and to its judgment should be submitted that which cannot be understood under the fixed rules. This opinion of Nicetas could allow for both the theory of the Pentarchy, while conceeding a primacy of honor to the bishop of Rome.

In a similar spirit, Basil of Ochrida, Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, addressed himself in a conciliatory letter to Pope Hadrian IV in 1155.[42] Basil refers to the bishop of Rome as "shepherd of shepherds," adding, "We stood fast, by the grace of God, firmly and unswervingly as regards the confession of blessed Peter; and that which he confessed and proclaimed, we confess and proclaim."[43]

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36. *Ibid.*, CXX, cols. 713-24. For Nicetas, see Beck, p. 619.
37. *PG*, CXX, col. 716A.
38. See M.V. Anastos, "The Transfer of Illyricum, Calabria, and Sicily to the Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 732-733," in *Silloge Bizantina in onore di S. G. Mercati* (Roma, 1957), pp. 14-31; and V. Grumel, "Cause et date de l'Annexion de l'Illyricum oriental, de la Sicilie et de la Calabre au Patriarcat byzantin," in *Atti dello VIII Congresso*, I, 376.
39. Hierocles, p. 294 (no. 214).
40. *Ibid.*, p. 295 (nos. 217-18).
41. *PL*, CLXXXVIII, cols. 1217 (cap. VII)-18.
42. *PG*, CXIX, cols. 929-33; Beck, p. 626.
43. *Ibid.*, cols. 929 and 932.

In comparing Neilos' views with those of his contemporaries, an especially dramatic contrast occurs when one considers the writing of the Italo-Greek homilist, Philagatus of Cerami.[44] Philagatus is not only a product of the same Byzantine-Southern Italian cultural milieu as is Neilos, but he, too, employed his gifts in the service of Roger II, having preached in Sicily at the command of the Norman King. However, unlike Neilos, Philagatus is a fervent support-er of the claims of the bishop of Rome to a primacy within the Church based on the Petrine origins of the see of Rome. In his homily delivered on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul,[45] Philagatus says that Christ gave the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to Saint Peter and to his successors so that the door of the Kingdom of Heaven may be impassable to the heretics, but easily reached by the faithful.[46] In Homily XXXVII, Philagatus states that Christ, because of Saint Peter's thrice-given profession of love, as found in Saint John's ac-count, XXI: 14-17, made Saint Peter the cornerstone of the church, the shep-herd of His sheep, and the foundation of His disciples. Saint Peter is entrust-ed with the keys of the kingdom of Heaven and given the assurance that what he binds on earth will be bound in heaven.[47] And in his Homily LIX, for the feast of Saint Onouphrius,[48] Philagatus, narrating the episode in Saint John, XIV: 8. 9, in which Christ, in reply to the Apostle Philip's request that, if the Apostles could see the Father they would be satisfied, tells him that He had been with him for so much time and Philip still does not know Him, adds that Saint Peter, whom he calls the "leader" (κορυφαῖος) confessed Christ to be the Son of the Living God, for he knew Him.[49]

In seeking a relatively contemporaneous source whose views are concord-ant with those of Neilos, it is Anna Comnena who shares a mutual position with Neilos as regards both the position of the see of Constantinople within the Church and disdain for the bishop of Rome. Immediately before Anna's discussion of the Twenty-Eighth Canon of Chalcedon in her *Alexiad,* she gives a graphic account of Pope Gregory VII's horrendous treatment of ambassadors sent by the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV. Her revulsion and contempt for Gregory are manifested throughout her narration of this incident. In Anna's ac-count of the Twenty-Eighth Canon of Chalcedon, she openly distorts the words of the canon: "For the imperial power having been transferred from there to here our imperial city, both the Senate and all the bureaucracy, the

44. Filagato da Cerami, *Omelie per i Vangeli domenicali, e le feste di tutto l'anno,* vol. I: *Omelie per le feste fisse,* ed. G. Rossi Taibbi, Testi e Monumenti, Testi 11, Istituto Siciliano di Studi bizantini e neoellenici (Palermo, 1969-), li-lvi; and Beck, p. 632.

45. Homily number LV in *PG,* CXXXII; numbered as XXVII in edition of Taibbi, I, 174-82.

46. *PG,* CXXXII, col. 965; and Taibbi, I, 180, no. 19.

47. *PG,* CXXXII, cols. 704B-05A.

48. Numbered as XXVI in Taibbi, I, 169-73.

49. *PG,* CXXXII, col. 945; and Taibbi, I, 170, no. 5.

hierarchical rank of the thrones was transferred, and the Emperors from the first have given the rank to the throne of Constantinople, and especially the Synod in Chalcedon, having elevated the bishop of Constantinople to the very first place, they arranged all the dioceses of the world under him."[50] This is, of course, an even more extreme handling of this canon than Neilos' interpretation, for he never alters the actual wording of the canon; but, by employing the argument of the ecclesiastical power following that of the imperial rank of a particular see, Neilos then builds his case upon Canon Twenty-Eight to arrive at the same conclusion as Anna Comnena.[51]

The theory of the Pentarchy, this ecclesiological conception of a collegial authority within the Church exercised by the five great patriarchates, may have corresponded to an ecclesiastical reality as it had existed in the fifth or sixth centuries, but in the twelfth century, this correspondence did not obtain. In abandoning the theory of the Pentarchy in favor of one proclaiming the primacy of Constantinople, as he demonstrates in his history of the five patriarchal sees, Neilos may have been aware that, by the twelfth century, what existed as the ecclesiological structure of the Christian Church could not be characterized by the idea of the Pentarchy, but rather by that of a dyarchy, consisting of the bishop of Rome and the bishop of Constantinople.

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50. *PG*, CXXXI, col. 153; and Anne Comnène, *Alexiade (Règne de l'empereur Alexius I Comnène, 1081-1118)*, ed. B. Leib, 3 vols., Collection byzantin, pub. sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles lettres," 1937-45), XIII. 4. 15-23: I, 48.

51. In his history of the reigns of John II Comnenus (1118-1143) and of Manuel Comenus (1143-80), the Byzantine historian Kinnamos goes beyond the ecclesiological positions of both Neilos and Anna Comnena in boldly asserting that the *basileus* in Constantinople is alone permitted to name the pope at Rome. Through neglect on the part of the Byzantine *basileus*, this custom fell into desuetude, and, as there was no one to establish anyone as pope in Rome, the hierarchy and synod of bishops of Rome exercised that function. John Kinnamos, *Epitome*, ed. A. Meineke, 2 pts. in 1 vol., Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1836), V. 9: p. 229: οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ βασιλεῖ ʽΡωμαίων ἀρχιερέα προβεβλῆσθαι, τῇ ʽΡώμῃ ἐφεῖται. τοίνυν καὶ ἐξότου ὀλιγωρίᾳ τῶν ἐν Βυξαντίῳ βασιλέων τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀπεσβήκει ἔθος, οὐδεὶς οὐδένα ἐν ʽΡώμῃ ἀρχιερέα καθίστη, ἀλλ' ἐπισκοπικῶν συνόδων καὰ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ʽΡώμην ἀρχιερ-

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The Theological Arguments of the
Iconoclasts during the Iconoclastic Controversy

The cult of the religious image in Christianity did not come to a climax all of a sudden, but was the result of a long development. According to Church tradition, the religious images in the Church date from the first centuries of Christianity. Before the second half of the second century A.D., there seems to be no Christian art, with the third we notice an art being used by the Christians. The character of this art was symbolic and decorative, and its purpose was to teach and adorn catacombs, cemeteries, places of worship, and liturgical vessels. With the coming of Constantine the Great to power the new religion came out of the catacombs and the other hidden places of worship. Splendid new basilicas that expressed the triumph of Christ were built, and artistic decoration was regarded as indispensable. Representations of Christ, the apostles, and martyrs in the form of pictures, mosaics, and statues were made and put up in churches and in public places. These figures also appeared on all sorts of liturgical objects, pilgrims' souvenirs, and personal ornaments. The most important of these figures were the icons—representations on small wooden tablets. There is no certainty when the image worship began, but scholars accept the fourth century as paving the way. After the second half of the sixth and during the seventh century, images became part of the Christian worship and miracles were attributed to them. It was, however, the Iconoclastic Controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries which led to the refutation of arguments by opponents of the images and secured the art works theologically in Christianity. The attacks against the images by the iconoclasts forced the Church to come to their defense, and in so doing she defined and secured the theological meaning and use of the images. For a better understanding of this development we present the theological position of the iconoclasts to see how the Church was forced to react and justify her position.

Opposition to the images did not appear at once in the eighth century. The cult of the images had been the result of a long development, in the same way that the opposition to the images had been a slow development and had reached its climax in the reign of Leo III. Kitzinger is correct when he says, "both opposition and defense were aroused long before the issue was joined in the reign of Leo III."[1] Even the theology of iconoclasm, to a certain degree, had been for-

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1. E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 8 (1954), 129.

mulated earlier when opposition to the cult of Christian images first emerged. In the fourth century Eusebius of Caesaria, in a letter to Constantia, sister of Constantine the Great, states the impossibility of depicting the image of Christ which she desired. Eusebius examines the problem from a Christological approach and, according to his reasoning, comes to the conclusion that Christ cannot be depicted because He has two natures, and he does not know which nature to depict: the divine, or the human. Eusebius adds, the divine nature cannot be depicted because no one has ever seen it; the Father is only known by the Son, and the Son by the Father. Also, the human nature cannot be depicted because it has been glorified by the divine nature and has passed from the mortal state to life. This is so not only now that He has ascended into heaven, but even when He was living on earth He possessed the same glory, and revealed it to His disciples on the mountain of the Transfiguration. If the disciples could not look at this glory, how can someone depict it with dead and lifeless colors? If the glory of Christ was such while He was still in this life, what can we say about this glory after the defeat of death through the Resurrection, the ascension to heaven, and the sitting on the right of the Father? Even if Constantia wanted the humble human image of Christ as He appeared in the world, that still would not be possible because of the prohibition of the Old Testament with regard to images.[2]

This perspective of Eusebius was the main argument used by the Iconoclastic Council of 754 against the depiction of the image of Christ, as well as the images of the saints. Because of this parallel between Eusebius' argument and the theology of the iconoclasts of the eighth century, Fr. George Florovsky suspects that the starting-points of Iconoclasm were the great influences of Origen and Eusebius on certain intellectuals of the Byzantine Church.[3] Another iconoclast of the early Church was St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia, Cyprus, who died in 403.[4] In his *Testament* to his own diocese he adjures his flock to keep the traditions, and never to place images in churches or cemeteries, but always to have the image of God in their hearts.[5] The authenticity of these writings was rejected by St. John of Damascus[6] and by the Seventh Oecumenical Council of 787.[7] Today, the authenticity of these writings

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2. "Εὐσεβίου ἐπιστολή πρός Κωνσταντίαν τήν βασίλισσαν," in Βιβλοϑήκη 'Ελλήνων Πατέρων καί 'Εκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων, 'Εκδοσις τῆς 'Αποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς 'Εκκγησίας τῆς 'Ελλάδος (Athinai, 1962), pp. 172-73.

3. G. Florovsky, "Origen, Eusebius, and the Iconoclastic Controversy," *Church History,* 19 (1950).

4. J. Quasten, *Patrology,* 3 vols. (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1962-64), III, 385.

5. G.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio,* 31 vols. (Firenze and Venezia: A. Zatta, 1759-98; rpt. Paris: Arnhem, 1901-), XIII, col. 292D.

6. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series greco-latina,* [hereafter *PG*] ed. J.P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris: Lutetiae, 1857-66), XCIV, col. 1257A.

7. Mansi, XIII, col. 293B.

and the iconoclastic tendencies of St. Epiphanius are beyond doubt, but Baynes writes: "The icons . . . have come into the Church, but as yet no theology has been developed which can give to matter as a bridge to the spiritual; therefore, for Epiphanius, the sacred pictures can only be idolatry, an invasion of paganism into the Church."[8] In the sixth century, the Monophysites opposed the images in the churches, which is quite understandable. Philoxenus, the Monophysite bishop of Mabbug (Hierapolis), Syria,[9] objected specifically to the image of Christ, but also to the representations of angels in human form, and the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove.[10] Severus, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch,[11] also opposed the representation of the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove.[12]

Hypatius, Bishop of Ephesus (531-38) and one of Justinian I's most trusted theological advisors, in a letter to his suffragan Bishop of Atramytium, Julian, gives an answer to the inquiry of Julian with regard to images. Julian claimed that those who, despite the Old Testament prohibitions (Exodus 2.4-5), were in the habit of placing in the churches painted or carved representations of what is revered and worshipped, once again were disturbing divine tradition. It seems that he tolerated the painted images and their worship, but he prohibited the images carved on wood and stone.[13] To this Hypatius answers that he is aware that the divine essence · is not the same and identical with any of the existing things, and he does not take any pleasure at all in sculpture or painting. To him the images had an educating and didactic character. He permitted the images for the simple and less perfect people, so they could learn about divine things through the sense of sight which was more appropriate to their natural development. After all, even divine commandments from the Old and New Testaments lower themselves for the sake of the salvation of the weak people.[14] A similar thing is noticed in the letter of Pope Gregory the Great to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles. It seems that Serenus, in his zeal, had cast the images out of the churches of his diocese, and for this reason St. Gregory writes to him: "You ought not to have broken what was put up in the churches, not for adoration, but merely for the promotion of reverence. It is one thing to worship an image and another to learn from the history represented in the image what we ought to worship. For that which the Scrip-

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8. N.H. Baynes, "Idolatry and the Early Church," in *idem, Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London: Univ. of London, The Athlone Press, 1960), p. 128.

9. B. Altaner, *Patrology*, trans. Hilda C. Graef (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961), p. 408.

10. Mansi, XIII, cols. 180E-181B.

11. Altaner, p. 610.

12. Mansi, XIII, col. 184A.

13. P.J. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus: A Note on Image Worship in the Sixth Century," *Harvard Theological Review*, 45 (1952), 178-79.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

ture is for those who can read, that a picture is for those who are incapable of reading; for in this, also, the uneducated see in what way they have to walk. In it they read who are not acquainted with Scriptures."[15]

These very few testimonies show that, as early as the fourth century, beginning with Eusebius, Christological arguments were injected into the question of the Christian images, but the main part of the opponents of the images came from the Old Testament prohibitions. It was only in the course of the iconoclastic controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries that both the opposition and the defense of the images were based firmly on doctrinal arguments. The theology of the iconoclasts is the gradual development of the theological arguments of a small segment of the Church which opposed the Christian image in the course of its development. The development of the icon and its opposition went hand in hand with each other and with the development of the doctrine of the Church, especially the Christological. The icon was attacked and it triumphed, warding off each blow of the aggressor. The theology of the icon as defined by the St. John of Damascus, the Patriarch Nicephorus, St. Theodore the Studite, and the Seventh Oecumenical Council is the refutation of the attack on the icon as it was defined by the Emperor Constantine V and the Iconoclastic Council of 754.

In examining the iconoclastic controversy the question of authority is raised. What was the authority upon which the opposing sides based their arguments? After examining the sources of the iconoclastic period, we come to the conclusion that both sides, iconoclasts and iconophiles, accepted as their authority the Scriptures and the Fathers of antiquity. For the iconoclasts the Old Testament prohibitions of the images provided most of the ammunition against their opponents. In a conversation between the Patriarch Germanos and Constantine of Nacolea on the subject of images, Constantine bases his iconoclastic arguments entirely on Exodus 20. 4-5.[16] St. John of Damascus, in his *First Oratio* in defense of the images, tells us that the iconoclasts based their attacks on the images on the above-mentioned passages, and on Deuteronomy 4. 12, 15-17, and 19. In his *Second Oratio*, he tells us that the iconoclasts also made use of Psalm 96. 7. The Emperor Leo III also cited Exodus 20. 4-5 in his letter to Pope Gregory II, because the pope wrote later to Leo "καὶ ἔγραψας, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν χειροποίητα, καί πᾶν εἶδος καθ᾽ ὁμοίωμα, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεός, μήτε ἐν οὐρανῷ, μήτε ἐπὶ γῆς.[17] From the New Testament the iconoclasts further drew upon Romans 1. 23 and 25, and II Corinthians 5. 7.[18]

15. K.J. Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, 5 vols. (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1883-96), V, 262-63.

16. Mansi, XIII, col. 100B; *PG*, XCVIII, col. 156C.

17. Mansi, XII, col. 959E.

18. *Ibid.*, XIII, cols. 285B-C.

Many passages from the writings of the Fathers were also used by the icon-
oclasts for the support of their arguments. They quoted St. Gregory of Nazi-
anzus as saying, in one of his poems, that it is shameful to maintain the faith
in colors and not in the heart. The faith in colors is washed away easily, but
the one of the mind was most dear to him.[19] They, also, quoted St. Basil the
Great,[20] St. Amphilochius of Iconium,[21] and Theodotus of Ancyra.[22] These
Fathers maintained that the true images of the saints are not the ones depicted
on tablets and in colors, but through their lives and their virtues. Of course.
the iconophiles at the Council of 787 refute the iconoclastic assumptions and
give their own interpretation to those patristic passages quoted by the icono-
clasts. Besides, these same fathers, especially St. Basil, are quoted by the icon-
ophiles for the support of their own cause.

But two men of antiquity: Eusebius of Caesarea and St. Epiphanius of Con-
stantia, Cyprus, spoke clearly against the Christian religious images, and be-
cause of that, their arguments were used by the iconoclasts, thus denying the
iconophiles the use of the two churchmen for the support of their own position.
It is true that Eusebius speaks of the statue of Christ at Paneas, and of images of
the apostles. He points out, however, that these images were made by pagans
according to their custom, and, as far as he was concerned, Christ cannot be
depicted. His reasons are given in his letter to Constantia. The Patriarch Ta-
rasius, in the Council of 787, tells us that the Iconoclasts used Eusebius' testi-
mony, stated in the letter to Constantia, in support of their nonsense against
the images.[23] After these words of Tarasius, part of a letter of Eusebius to
Euphration was read in which Eusebius presents Arian teachings. For this rea-
son the council, through the representatives of the bishop of Rome, answered
that the testimony of Eusebius, regarding images could not be accepted be-
cause he was an Arian and a possessor of other blasphemies.[24] From the writ-
ings of St. Epiphanius the iconoclasts used the saint's *Testament* to his flock
in which he clearly attacks the use of religious images by the Church. The
Testament was very useful to the iconoclasts because St. Epiphanius regards
the images as an innovation in the Church. For this reason, he urged his flock
to keep the traditions and not to have any images anywhere.[25] Supported by
this testimony, the iconoclasts claimed that they were the followers of the
oldest tradition of the Church. The iconophiles' answer to this was to assert
that this writing of St. Epiphanius was not authentic. The Council of 754, in

19. *Ibid.*, col. 297A.
20. *Ibid.*, cols. 300A-B.
21. *Ibid.*, col. 301D.
22. *Ibid.*, cols. 309E-312A.
23. *Ibid.*, col. 176D.
24. *Ibid.*, col. 177C.
25. *Ibid.*, col. 292D.

order to show that the position of the iconoclasts was supported by both the
Scriptures and the Fathers, stated that it is forbidden to have any kind of im-
age in the Christian Church.[26]

The above-mentioned Scriptural and patristic passages were used by the
iconoclasts mainly to support their charge of idolatry against the iconophiles.
From the beginning of the iconoclastic controversy to its end, the main accu-
sation of the iconoclasts against the supporters of the image was the charge of
idolatry. Our sources do not present any other reason of the iconoclasts for
their actions against the images, but that the worship of the images by the
Christians was an act of idolatry. A variation to this charge appears later. At
the beginning of the controversy the iconoclasts drew upon the Old Testa-
ment prohibitions of the images, whereas from the time of Constantine V,
the charge was also supported by Christological arguments. In all of the writ-
ings of the iconophiles, the iconoclasts are called Χριστιανοκατήγοροι (accu-
sers of the Christians).

St. John of Damascus, in his treatise on the heresies, tells us why the
iconoclasts were given this name. It was because they condemned the Chris-
tians, who worship the one living and true God praised in the Trinity, with the
accusation that the sacred images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the saints, and
the angels were worshipped as gods in the manner of the pagans.[27] According
to this testimony of the great defender of the images, the only accusation that
the iconoclasts had against the iconophiles was that of idolatry. The same ac-
cusation against the iconophiles remained even when Christological arguments
were used by the iconoclasts for the support of their position. Patriarch Ni-
cephorus, who represented the iconophiles during the second period of the
iconoclastic controversy, tells us in his refutation against the teachings of Con-
stantine V why the iconoclasts were Χριστιανοκατήγοροι. His reasons are ex-
actly the same as those of St. John of Damascus. Again, he makes only one
accusation against the iconophiles, that of idolatry.[28] Pope Gregory II, in a
letter to the Emperor Leo III, tells us that the reason Leo wanted to do away
with the images was that they were taking the place of the idols, and those
who worshipped them were idolaters.[29] The writer of the life of St. Stephen
the Younger tells us that the reason Leo III gave to the people for his decision
against the images was that the representation of the images was merely idola-
trous artifice, and, therefore, the images should not be worshipped.[30] The
same writer presents a conversation between St. Stephen and the Emperor
Constantine V, according to which St. Stephen refers to the images as paint-

26. *Ibid.*, cols. 324C-D.
27. *PG,* XCIV, col. 773A.
28. *Ibid.*, C, col. 528C.
29. Mansi, XII, col. 959D.
30. *PG,* C, col. 1084C.

ings, and Constantine tells him that he should not call them paintings, but painted idols.[31] Theophanes and George Hamartolus, the Monk, tell us that Leo III called all the emperors, bishops, and Christians before him idolaters. because they worshipped the images.[32] The reason that the iconophiles were idolaters, according to Leo as Pope Gregory II tells us in his letter to Leo, was because they were worshipping stones, walls, and wooden tablets.[33] The icon-oclastic bishops of the Council of 754 were saying that the devil, through a false appearance of Christianity, that is through the images, brought back into the world idolatry which had disappeared through Christ.[34] The conviction of the iconoclasts that the worship of the images was idolatry can be noticed at the close of the Council 754, when the council decreed the destruction of the images prompted by the theology of Constantine V. All those present at the meeting praised the emperor by standing up, raising their hands high, and crying out that that day salvation had come into the world because the em-peror had redeemed them from idolatry.[35]

Many theories have been given as to the motives of iconoclasm, but our sources present only one—the charge of idolatry. For this reason, I agree with Basileios Stephanides that the theories which argue Jewish and Moslem influ-ence and political reasons as the motives of iconoclasm are, if true, talking about secondary motives which could not have prompted iconoclasm without the prior formation of a conviction that the use of the images was contrary to Christianity.[36] This charge of idolatry against those who venerated the images was unavoidable, because the iconoclasts had a problem which prevented them from seeing the images as anything other than idols. They could not re-concile matter, out of which the images were made, with the worship of God in spirit and truth. Because of this, the Patriarch Germanos was anathematized by the Council of 754 as a worshipper of wood($\xi\upsilon\lambda o\lambda\dot\alpha\tau\rho\eta\nu$).[37] For the icon-oclasts, matter had no place in Christianity. For this reason, they stated that it is wrong to insult in ignoble and dead matter ($\dot\epsilon\nu\,\dot\alpha\delta\dot o\xi\omega\cdot\,\kappa\alpha\dot\iota\,\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\dot\alpha\,\dot\upsilon\lambda\eta$ $\kappa\alpha\vartheta\upsilon\beta\rho\dot\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$) the saints who will be illuminated in such glory.[38] The Council of 754, at the same time, decreed that it was forbidden to have in the churches of the Christians any image made up of any sort of matter ($\dot\epsilon\kappa\,\pi\alpha\nu\tau o\dot\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\dot\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$).[39]

31. *Ibid.*, col. 1157B. .
32. *Ibid.*, CVIII, col. 820C; *ibid.*, CX, col. 917B.
33. Mansi, XII, col. 963A.
34. *Ibid.*, XIII, col. 221C.
35. *PG*, C, col. 1121B; *ibid.*, CX, col. 940A; and Mansi, XIII, cols. 353B-C.
36. B. Stephanides, 'Εκκλησιαστική 'Ιστορία, Ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μεχρί σήμερον (Athinai:'Εκ-δότικος Οἴκος 'Αστήρ, ΑΛ. & Σ. Παπαδημητρίου, 1959), p. 255.
37. *PG*, C, col. 1121A.
38. Mansi, XIII, col. 277D.
39. *Ibid.*, col. 324D.

This attitude of the iconoclasts toward matter gives the impression that they considered it evil. This weakness of the iconoclasts was noticed by St. John of Damascus, who attacked them by saying that matter should not be condemned as something unworthy. After all, no thing made by God is unworthy; such belief is an idea of the Manicheans in rejecting the images because they were made of matter.[40] Baynes, also, sensed this weak spot of the iconoclasts and says: "But there was a danger that the iconoclast teaching might be interpreted in a Manichean sense—that matter was in itself evil, that a God who sought to be worshipped in spirit and in truth had no place for matter in the cultus of his Church. The worshippers of the images saved the Greek world from any such oriental heresy. Matter had once and for all been hallowed by the Incarnation."[41]

In examining the position of the iconoclasts, we have seen so far, that they considered the images as made of evil matter, and therefore, not to be venerated. Thus they were accusing the iconophiles of idolatry, because, it was claimed, they were worshipping these images like gods. At the same time, image worship for the iconoclasts had no basis in Scripture, nor in the early tradition of the Church, it was of recent origin in Christianity. Before iconoclasm, there were two occasions in which the image was examined in connection with the Christological doctrine. The first was the letter of Eusebius to Constantia, in which Eusebius rejects the artistic image of Christ on the ground that Christ had two natures. The second was the eighty-second Canon of the Trullan Council (691-92), at which the image is declared as expressing the reality of the Incarnation. In iconoclasm, as it appears in the writings of the Patriarch Germanos and St. John of Damascus, Christology played no role on the iconoclastic side during the reign of Leo III. The first time that we notice Christological arguments used by the iconoclasts is during the reign of Constantine V, when the emperor himself argued that an artistic image of Christ could be justified only by Nestorians or Monophysites. Constantine's Christological argument was very simple. By representing Christ, the painter either separated the two natures of Christ, or confused them. According to Constantine, it was impossible to represent in an artistic image Christ, in whom two natures—one immaterial and one material—have been united in one person without being confused.[42] This way, Constantine, and all the iconoclasts with him, branded the iconophiles as Nestorians or Monophysites.

John, the representative of the Eastern patriarchates, declares at the Council of 787 that, according to the Council of 754, he who worships the image of Christ divides Christ in two, and he who sees the image of Christ and says or writes that the person represented on the image is Christ, divides Christ as

40. *PG*, XCIV, col. 1245C.
41. Baynes, p. 139.
42. *PG*, C, col. 232A.

well.[43] It was also said at the Council of 754 that the art of the painters sup-
ports Nestorius, who divides into two sons the one Son and Logos of God,
Who became man for us.[44] It is not possible for Christ, Who is made up of
two natures in one person, to be depicted in the person of the one nature, and
to be without person as far as the other nature, the divine, is concerned.[45]

Only a human person can be represented in a work of art; therefore, in an
image of Christ, we only have the representation of a human person since the
divine person cannot be circumscribed.[46] If Christ were a man only, He could
be circumscribed because circumscription is an attribute of man; but, since
Christ is not man only, but God and man, then He cannot be circumscribed.[47]
In other words, in Christ we have two natures in one person, and for this rea-
son, He cannot be divided. Only humanity can be portrayed in an image.
Christ is both human and divine; how, then, can He be represented in art? He
cannot, answers Constantine. Whoever attempts to represent Christ in art di-
vides the united divine *Logos*, makes Christ only a creature—man—and sepa-
rates the divine nature from Him.[48] Thus, with the separation of the two na-
tures, the human nature only has a person, and automatically a fourth person
is added to the Trinity.[49] Because of this, the Council of 754 anathematized
anyone who depicts in an image the deified human nature of the divine *Logos*,
thereby separating it from the divine nature which received it and deified it,
and thus separating it from the source of its deification.[50] Besides, Constan-
tine argues, even if someone would say only the human nature of Christ is
represented in an image, still this would be impossible to do. Christ, as a man,
could be portrayed only before his death and resurrection. Now, after the re-
surrection, things have changed. The body of Christ now is incorruptible and
has thus received immortality; the laws of nature have no power on it. This
was proved when Christ entered the room, the doors being shut.[51]

The other heresy into which the painter and the worshipper of the image
of Christ fall is Monophysitism. Since in Christ we have only one person, ar-
gues Constantine, the painter automatically circumscribes in an image the di-
vine nature of Christ, which cannot be circumscribed.[52] The result of such an
action of the painter is Monophysitism, that is, the blending and confusing of
the two natures in Christ. Christ means God-man, and the image of Christ is

43. Mansi, XIII, cols. 72B-C.
44. *Ibid.*, cols. 241E.
45. *PG*, C, col. 296C.
46. *Ibid.*, col. 297A.
47. *PG*, XCIX, col. 409A.
48. *Ibid.*, C, col. 284A.
49. Mansi, XIII, col. 344C.
50. *Ibid.*, col. 341E.
51. *PG*, C, col. 437B.
52. *Ibid.*, col. 236C.

that of the God-man. What the painter does, then, is to circumscribe jointly the divine nature, which cannot be circumscribed, together with the created human nature, which can be circumscribed, thus confusing the unconfused union of the two natures in Christ. Because of this, he falls into two blasphemies, that of circumscribing God, and that of confusing the two natures.[53] For this reason, the Council of 754 anathematized anyone who would attempt to represent in an image the undivided union of the two natures, and call such an image Christ, thus, confusing the two natures—for the name Christ means God and man.[54]

If one will compare carefully Constantine's Christology, which was the official Iconoclastic Christology in relation to the images, with the letter of Eusebius to Constantia, he will see that the same arguments are shared between the two of them. Both of them reject the artistic images of Christ on Christological grounds. Both argue that in Christ we have two natures of which the divine cannot be circumscribed, because it is known only to the Father, and no one else has seen it. The human nature cannot be circumscribed, also, since it has been mixed with the glory of divinity, and the mortal elements have been swallowed by the Life, especially after the resurrection of the Lord.

The above-mentioned arguments of the iconoclasts were meant to show the impossibility of representing Christ in an artistic image. Any representation of Christ depicted on any material substance was a false image of Him. Thus those who make or worship such images fall into idolatry. We can understand this if we keep in mind how the iconoclasts understood the relationship between an image and its prototype. To Constantine V, a true image must be of the same substance as that of which it is an image.[55] Christ was of divine and human substance, but His artistic representations are of material substance, therefore, they cannot be true images of the God-man. The only true image of Christ is the bread and the wine of the Eucharist, which is consecrated by the priest and changes to the same essence as that of Christ. This teaching was proclaimed by the Council of 754 as the infallible faith of the Church. The material human body of Christ, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, was united with the divine essence, and it was not the body of a $\psi\iota\lambda\grave{o}\varsigma$ $\check{a}\nu\vartheta\rho\omega\pi o\varsigma$ (simple man) any longer, but the body of God-man. Likewise, the bread and the wine of the Eucharist, through the same operation of the Holy Spirit, are no longer the material bread and wine, but they become the body and the blood of the God-man, the only true image of the Incarnation of God.[56] Thus, by worshipping the elements of the Eucharist, there is no danger of fal-

53. Mansi, XIII, col. 252A.
54. *Ibid.*, col. 340C.
55. *Ibid.*, col. 225A.
56. *Ibid.*, cols. 264B-C.

ling into idolatry, because the worship here is not the worship of a false image, an idol, but that of a true image, an image which has the same substance as that which it represents.

This iconoclastic doctrine, however, did not itself prove successful for the cause of the iconoclasts. On the contrary, it was turned into a ready weapon of the iconophiles against their opponents. Constantine had made the mistake of calling the bread of the Eucharist the body of Christ by adoption ($\vartheta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$), and the image of the natural ($\varphi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$) body of Christ. The Church, on the other hand, had always accepted the Eucharist as the true and real body and blood of Christ, never as a body by adoption, or as an image of the body. This was pointed out at the Council of 787, where it was said that neither the Lord, nor any of the Apostles, or the Fathers had called the Eucharist an image or a body by adoption, but the real body and blood of Christ.[57] The Patriarch Nicephorus accused Constantine of contradicting himself because, on the one hand, he was calling the Eucharist consubstantial to the body of Christ, and, therefore, the true body of Christ, and on the other hand, it was an image of the body of Christ and not the true body.[58] The same patriarch used this theory of Constantine to prove the possibility to circumscribe Christ. If the body of Christ in the Eucharist can be circumscribed—and no one who is in his right sense can say that it cannot, because it can be seen by the human eyes, it can be held in the human hands, it can be chewed by teeth and eaten—then likewise, the body, which the *Logos* received at the beginning of the Incarnation, can be circumscribed.[59]

The theology of the iconoclastic controversy, as presented by both sides, was mainly centered on the image of Christ. The arguments advanced by Constantine V, and then taken up by the Council of 754, were presented from a Christological point of view and could be applied only to the image of Christ. This can be easily understood if we keep in mind that the image of Christ was not an image of an ordinary human being, but that of a God-man. For this reason Christ's image had been questioned long before iconoclasm. The Christological arguments, though, did not apply to the images of the *Theotokos*, of the saints, and of the angels. The iconoclasts, however, rejected the images of these persons together with the image of Christ. Their justification for the rejection of these images was the fact that they were made of material substance, and, therefore, they were not true images of the *Theotokos*, of the saints, and of the angels.

The inability of the iconoclasts to reconcile matter with the spirituality of Christianity made them reject the pictorial representation of any person asso-

57. *Ibid.*, cols. 265B-268A.
58. *PG*, C, col. 336A.
59. *Ibid.*, cols. 333C-D.

ciated with the Christian worship. Any act of representing or venerating a per-
son associated with religion in material images was an act of idolatry. The
Council of 754 asks, how do the iconophiles dare, and are not ashamed, to re-
present the Mother of God, and those who will reign together with Christ,
according to the vulgar art of the pagan? It is not permitted for the Christians,
who possess the hope of the resurrection, to make use of customs of the demon-
worshipping pagans, nor to insult in ignoble and dead matter the saints who
will be illuminated in glory.[60] For the images of the angels, the iconoclasts
had one more argument in support of their case against the images. They were
arguing that it is impossible to represent the angels in images, because no one
has seen what they look like. We hear of this iconoclastic argument at the
Council of 787, where it was raised for refutation. Constantine, bishop of Con-
stantia, Cyprus, asks: "How can there be some people [the iconoclasts] who
ask, 'who has ever seen the face of a cherubim?' "[61] Besides, the iconoclasts
argued, those bodies that are indivisible ($\check{\alpha}\tau\mu\eta\tau\alpha$) and intangible ($\dot{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\varphi\alpha$)
are uncircumscribed. The angels are bodiless, therefore, they cannot be cir-
cumscribed. If they could be circumscribed, they would be with body.[62] How
can you represent in an image a being that no one has seen, and which does
not have a body that can take space and be conceivable to the senses of man?

Another object of the veneration of the Church which was attacked by the
iconoclasts was the relics. From the beginning of iconoclasm, we have testi-
monies that the relics of the saints were attacked together with the images.
Theophanes tells us that Leo III abhored the relics of the saints as did his
teachers, the Arabs.[63] He also tells us that Constantine V threatened anyone
venerating relics with death or other punishments. At the same time, he des-
troyed those relics which were held of special honor by the people. Such a
relic was that of the Martyr Euphemia which was thrown into the sea with its
case, but which miraculously drifted to the island of Lemnos and was saved.[64]
Patriarch Nicephorus tells us that Constantine destroyed the relics of the
saints by fire.[65] The accusation of the iconoclasts against the veneration of
the relics was the same as that against the veneration of the images—idolatry.
By venerating the relics, worship was rendered to matter. Of course another
reason that probably made Constantine and the other iconoclasts attack the
relics was the abuse of their veneration made by many at that time.

Our sources inform us that the iconoclasts also rejected the veneration and
the intercession of the *Theotokos* and the saints. Theophanes tells us that

60. Mansi, XIII, cols. 277C-D.
61. *Ibid.*, col. 5E.
62. *PG*, XCIX, col. 412A.
63. *Ibid.*, CVIII, col. 820C.
64. *Ibid.*, cols. 885B-C.
65. *Ibid.*, C, col. 241D.

Leo III not only rejected the relative worship of the icons, but at the same time he rejected the intercession of the *Theotokos* and the saints.[66] But he who really attacked the intercession of the *Theotokos* and the saints was Constantine V. Theophanes informs us that Constantine, orally and in writings, denounced the intercession of the *Theotokos* and of all the saints and considered it useless.[67] The Patriarch Nicephorus tells us that there was no sacred belief of the Church which had not been attacked by Constantine. First of all, he tried to silence the name of *Theotokos* among the Christians. He became annoyed and angry every time someone would call on the name of the *Theotokos*. He revised and distorted all the hymns and prayers used by the Church in which the name of the *Theotokos* was mentioned. Finally he rejected her intercessions. He had the same beliefs for the veneration and the intercession of the saints.[68] We know that the Iconoclastic Council of 754 decided exactly the opposite of what Constantine was preaching with regard to the veneration and intercession of the *Theotokos* and the saints. With regard to the *Theotokos*, the council anathematized everyone who did not confess the ever-Virgin Mary as truly mother of God above every visible and invisible creation, and who did not ask for her intercession as having liberty of approach to our God to whom she gave birth.[69]

The same council, likewise, anathematized everyone who, despite the tradition of the Church, did not confess as worthy of honor all the saints who have pleased God, and did not ask for their prayers as having liberty to interrcede for the world.[70] This disagreement between the main iconoclast theologian and the Iconoclastic Council of 754 proves that not all the teachings of the emperor were accepted by the followers of iconoclasm, and that many times he had to give in. At the same time, it shows that not all the followers of iconoclasm went to the extremes and attacked all the practices of piety of the Church. In fact the Council of 754 specifically stated acceptance of the six ecumenical councils and defended their faith. Christ was accepted as one person with two natures, two wills and two energies.[71] On the contrary, the iconoclasts were claiming that the iconophiles had rejected the faith of the ecumenical councils, and had fallen into Nestorianism and Monophysitism by venerating the images.

Thus we see the Iconoclastic Council of 754 making an effort to remain faithful to the beliefs of the Church, but when it came to practice, Constantine V acted as he pleased. This suggests that the extreme followers of iconoclasm

66. *Ibid.*, CVIII, col. 820B.
67. *Ibid.*, col. 885B.
68. *Ibid.*, C, cols. 341C-D.
69. Mansi, XIII, col. 345A.
70. *Ibid.*, col. 348D.
71. *Ibid.*, col. 237D.

were very few; these were Constantine V himself, who was the soul of icono-
clasm, and his close associates. Real persecutions against the iconophiles took
place only during his reign. Under the other iconoclast emperors, persecutions
were occasional and isolated. Even the destruction of the images was not gene-
ral, but sporadic and isolated until the Iconoclastic Council of 754. The writer
of the *Life* of St. Stephen the Younger tells us that until then the church of
the Virgin Mary at Blachernai, Constantinople, had its walls decorated with
scenes from the life of our Lord. After the council, by order of the emperor,
these images were destroyed and in their place trees, birds, and animals were
painted to decorate the church.[72] The same writer informs us that after the
Council of 754 the destruction of the images became general and systematic.
Wherever there were images of Christ, or of the *Theotokos*, or of the saint,
they were either burned, or scraped off, or whitewashed. Scenes of trees, or
of birds, or of animals, or of games or of the theatre, however, were not
touched; on the contrary they were preserved and admired.[73]

From what we have seen so far the iconoclasts, through their teachings and
actions, attacked everything the Church had practiced for centuries. It is no
wonder iconoclasm was considered as an attack upon the Church herself, and
the iconoclasts were liked upon as Jews and Saracens. That iconoclasm was
considered an attack upon the Church herself can be seen from the fact that
the Churches outside the Byzantine Empire, those of the East and of Rome,
stopped their communion with the Church of Byzantium and anathematized
the iconoclasts. This we see in a speech of the Patriarch Tarasius to the people
of Constantinople when he announced the need of an ecumenical council to
bring unity into the Church after the division which was caused by the icono-
clasts. Tarasius said that the Church was torn apart and divided. The Christians
of the eastern patriarchates were in agreement with the Christians of Rome
and in disagreement with the Church of Byzantium. The Byzantines were
alienated from the rest of the Christians, and every day they were anathema-
tized by them.[74]

In examining the position of the iconoclasts as regards the sacred images,
we come to the conclusion that the Christological thinking of the iconoclasts,
and especially of Constantine V, had Monophysite tendencies. To the icono-
clasts Christ was first and foremost God, and as God He could not be circum-
scribed. In the arguments of Constantine against the images the humanity of
Christ disappears or is completely overlooked. Because of this the iconophiles
accused the iconoclasts of rejecting the Incarnation of God. Outwardly the
iconoclasts accepted the orthodox Christology—one person, two united un-

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72. *PG*, C, col. 1120C.
73. *Ibid.*, col. 1113A.
74. Mansi, XII, cols. 987B-C.

confused natures—at their Council of 754, but their arguments lead to Monophysitism. All the emphasis is placed on the divinity of Christ. Because they thought of Christ mostly as God, they turned and accused the iconophiles of Nestorianism, when the iconophiles told them that He was also a man. and as such He could be circumscribed. There is no doubt that the iconoclastic Christology had Monophysite tendencies. What we cannot say with certainty, due to the lack of the iconoclastic writings, is whether the iconoclasts were Monophysites by intention, or without realizing it they fell into Monophysitism. But again, we must keep in mind that many of the leaders and followers of iconoclasm were of Monophysite origin, Armenians and Syrians. No matter what their true intentions were, however, their attacks on the images forced the Church to define the meaning and the use of the image in Christianity.[75]

In conclusion we can say that the true motives of iconoclasm were religious, based on the arguments of a small segment within the Church opposing the use of the image since antiquity. The main charge of the iconoclasts against the use of the images was that of "idolatry," and it was mainly based on the Old Testament prohibitions. They also made use of the early objections of the Church against the use of the images in worship. As time went on during the controversy, the iconoclastic arguments with Constantine V took Christological character. But again this theology was not something new and original, it was formulated by Eusebius of Caesaria based on Christological arguments. The Eusebian origin of this theology, however, did not help the iconoclasts too much. Being a semi-Arian, Eusebius could not be accepted as an authority of Orthodox theology. Going deeper in the examination of the theology of the iconoclasts, we notice their Monophystic tendencies. The divinity of Christ is so overemphasized while His humanity is completely overlooked.

So, despite the ancient origin of the iconoclastic theological arguments, iconoclasm was a failure. Its arguments were out-dated, because they came from a small segment opposing the general feeling of the Church. At the same time the icon was associated with the triumph of Christianity and the development of the orthodox theology of the Church. It was looked upon as part of the pure and sacred tradition of the Church, that is why those who attacked it were condemned as heretics.

St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church, Bethlehem Pa.

75. T. Sideris, "The Theological Position of the Iconophiles during the Iconoclastic Controversy," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 17 (1973), 210-36.

NORMAN TOBIAS (Newark, N.J., U.S.A.)

The Tactics and Strategy of
Alexius Comnenus at Calavrytae, 1078

The reconstruction of battles in Byzantine history is difficult, for histori-
cal information is almost invariably meager. Adrianople (378), Châlons (450),
Daras (530), Taginae (552), and Manzikert (1071) are the best known of the
rare exceptions to this rule. To this list Calavrytae should be added.[1] It is sig-
nificant for military history because it provides a glimpse into the state of the
"Art militaire" of the empire in the crucial eleventh century and reveals a con-
tinuity in the Byzantine art of war that post-dates the collapse of the tradi-
tional theme system.[2]

In this article I shall undertake two things. First, I shall thoroughly analyze
the battle for which we have two separate and detailed accounts. One is pro-
vided by the *Alexiad* of Princess Anna Comnena, the daughter of the Domes-
tic of the Schools, who led the imperial forces.[3] The other is by the eldest

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1. Joan M. Hussey, "The Later Macedonians, the Comneni and the Angeli 1025-1204,"
in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. J.B. Bury, *et al.*, 8 vols. in 9 pts. (Cambridge,
Eng.: The Univ. Press, 1924-67), IV, pt. 1, 211, for example, just states that Alexius de-
feated Bryennius without even mentioning the battle field.

2. For the period of the eleventh century, see C. Neumann, "La situation mondiale
dans l'empire byzantin avant les Croisades," *Revue de l'orient latin*, 10 (1905), 57-171;
R.J.H. Jenkins, *The Byzantine Empire on the Eve of the Crusades* (London: Published
for the Historical Association by G. Philip, 1953); P. Charanis, "The Byzantine Empire
in the Eleventh Century," in *A' History of the Crusades*, ed. K.N. Setton (Philadelphia:
Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1955-), I. 177-219; S. Vryonis, "Byzantinum: The Social
Basis of Decline in the Eleventh Century," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 2 (19-
59), 159-75; *idem, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of
Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles,
and London: Univ. of California Press, 1971), esp. pp. 70-142.

3. There are two editions of the Alexiad: The first is Anna Comnena, *Alexiadis libri
XV*, ed. L. Schopen and A. Reifferschied, 2 vols., Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae
(Bonn: Impensis E. Weberi, 1839 and 1878). A more recent edition with a French trans-
lation is Anne Comnène, *Alexiade (règne de l'empereur Alexius I Comnène, 1081-1118)*,
ed. and trans. B. Leib, 3 vols. (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles lettres," 1937-45). As
the Bonn edition is more readily available, it will be cited first with the Leib edition add-
ed after it. All quotes, however, will employ the Leib edition. There is also an English
translation by Elizabeth A.S. Dawes, *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena, Being
the History of the Reign of Her Father, Alexius I, Emperor of the Romans, 1081-1118
A.D.* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1928). On Anna Comnena, see W.
Miller, "A Byzantine Blue Stocking: Anna Comnena," in *idem, Essays on the Latin Ori-
ent* (Cambridge, Eng.: The Univ. Press, 1921), pp. 533-50; Naomi Mitchison, *Anna Com-
nena* (London: G. Howe, Ltd., 1928); Georgina Buckler, *Anna Comnena: A Study* (Ox-
ford: At the Univ. Press, 1929); F. J. Foakes-Jackson, "Anna Comnena," *Hibbert Journal*,

son of the leader of the insurgents, Nicephorus Bryennius, also named Nicepho-
rus Bryennius.[4] By comparing their two accounts, I hope to present some no-
tion of the strategy and tactics employed by the contestants. In addition, the
tactics of Calavrytae will be compared with the tactics outlined by Leo the
Wise (886-911) in his *Tactica*.[5] By comparing the empire in its heyday (tenth
century) with the eleventh century, one will be able to determine to what de-
gree there was continuity in Byzantine military practice.

The Prelude

The battle of Calavrytae arose from a revolt and advance on Constantino-
ple by Nicephorus Bryennius, the Dux of Dyrrachium.[6] Sent to this strate-
gic outpost by the Emperor Michael VII Ducas (1071-78), Byrennius' task
was to quell the recent rebellions.[7] According to his eldest son, the success
of his mission led to innuendos at court that he was conspiring against the
emperor.[8] Anna Comnena, however, claims that Bryennius already had designs
against his former benefactor.[9] Be that as it may, a rebellion broke out and Mi-
chael Ducas displayed his usual ineptitude in dealing with it.[10]

The insurgents, on the other hand, acted quickly. While John Bryennius, the
pretender's brother, won over the local Thracian nobility, Nicephorus, fol-
lowing the traditional invasion route (the Via Egnatia), marched through the
western provinces without meeting resistance.[11] Probably statesmanship as
well as military strength were factors in his initial success, for Anna Comnena
describes his progress with these words: "On his approaching any town, it

33 (1935), 430-42; B. Leib, "L'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène," *Bulletin de l'Association
Guillaume Budé*, NS, 1 (1946), 140-46; C. Diehl, "Anna Comnena," in *idem, Byzantine
Empresses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), pp. 194-97; and R. Dalven, *Anna Com-
nena* (New York: Twayne, 1972).

4. Nicephorus Bryennius came from a distinguished military family and later married
Anna Comnena. As a courtier he served both Alexius and John Comnenus. Nicephorus
intended to write a history immortalizing his father-in-law, but it was never finished. The
work deals briefly with the history of the Comnenian family from the reign of Isaac to
the year 1079. The edition used was *Nicephori Bryennii Commentarii*, ed. A. Meineke,
2 pts. in 1 vol., Corpus scriptorum histotiae byzantinae (Bonn: Impensis E. Weberi, 18-
36). There is a French translation of the first four books by H. Grégoire, "Nicéphore
Bryennios: Les quatre livres des histoires," *Byzantion*, 23 (1953), 469-530; 25-27 (1955-
57), 881-926.

5. Edition used was Leo, *Tactica*, in *Patrologia cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*,
ed. J.P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris: Lutetiae, 1857-66), CVII.

6. Bryennius, p. 102. 14-16; *Alexiad*, p. 24. 1-2: ἀρχὴν Δυρραχίου ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως
Μιχαῆλ: p. 17.12-13.

7. Bryennius, pp. 102. 5-22–103. 1-17.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 103. 18-105. 1-5.

9. *Alexiad*, p. 24. 2-6; and p. 17. 13-18.

10. Bryennius, pp. 108. 13-22-109. 1-10.

11. *Alexiad*, p. 24. 6-9; p. 17. 17-21; Bryennius, p. 110. 7-13. On military routes in
the vicinity of Constantinople, see J. K. Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Con-
stantinopel und die Balkanspässe* (Prag: F. Temperley, 1877), pp. 41-50.

would receive him with suppliant hands, and send him on to the next with ac-
claim."[12] His progress into his native Thrace was, therefore, rapid and unhin-
dered. Only at Trajanopolis did he meet any opposition, although it was in
the end the first to actually acclaim him "Emperor of the Romans."[13] From
Trajanopolis he advanced to his home town—Adrianople. All along his march
he was hailed as "Emperor" by the local populace.[14] At Adrianople, the stra-
tegy of the campaign was decided. The decision was not to advance with the
entire army against Constantinople but to send a general with sufficient for-
ces to negotiate with Michael Ducas.[15] This task was entrusted to John Bryen-
nius, the *Curopalates* and Domestic of the Schools for the insurgents.[16] The
emperor refused to negotiate. Instead, he put his trust in the city's impregna-
ble walls and in the ability of his generals. A siege ensued, but it was indeci-
sive and the insurgents withdrew. The siege and the proximity of the insur-
gents, however, toppled Michael Ducas, and Nicephorus Botaniates (1078-81)
succeeded him.[17]

From Bryennius' first attempt to win the capital, one can divine some idea
of his strategy. Basically, it was a direct approach with a single geographic ob-
jective—Constantinople. And in this lies the reason for his failure. As a modern
theorist, Liddell Hart says, "A direct move on an opponent consolidates an
enemy's balance, physical and psychological, and by consolidating it increases
his resisting powers."[18] The imperial forces, therefore, easily parried Bryenni-
us' first effort. Undaunted by this setback, he turned to achieve his objectives
through a slower and more methodical strategic dislocation. His first step was,
therefore, to consolidate his gains, especially in Thrace. By this strategy, Bry-
ennius hoped to upset the emperor's dispositions, separate him from his for-
ces, endanger his supplies (now that Thrace was the empire's bread basket),

12. *Alexiad*, p. 24. 19-21; p. 18. 2-4: καὶ γὰρ ἐπιόντα τοῦτον αἱ πόλεις ἄπασαι
ὑπτίαις χέρσιν ὑπεδέχοντο, καὶ ἄλλη πρὸς ἄλλην πόλιν μετὰ κρότου παρέπεμπεν.
κρότου παρέπεμπεν.
13. Bryennius, pp. 111. 3-21–112. 1-16: . . . καὶ βασιλέα 'Ρωμαίων τὸν Νικηφόρον
εὐφημεῖν ἐκέλευον.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 113. 16.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 113. 19-114. 1-7.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 114. 8-11. On the office of the *Curopalates*, see J.B. Bury, *The Imperial
Administrative System in the Ninth Century, With a Revised Text of the Kletorologion*
(London: Pub. for the British Academy by H. Frowde, 1911). pp. 33-35.
17. Bryennius, pp. 115-21. 1-21.
18. B.H. Liddell Hart, *Strategy*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Praeger, 1967), pp. 340-41.
Basically, the aim of any aggressor is always to take his rival's capital. If that aim, how-
ever, is too direct, it seldom is successful. Because of her unique geographical position,
an attack on Constantinople was almost invariably direct. Perhaps this is the reason why
Constantinople defied her enemies for over a thousand years. In modern warfare one can
draw a similar analogy and attribute Germany's failure in World War I by her direct strike
via the low countries. In World War II, however, Germany avoided a direct thrust through
the low countries and instead made an indirect attack via the Ardennes. Because of the
indirectness of her approach, victory was achieved over France in only thirty-nine days.

and secure his own base within striking distance of the capital. Psychologically, this move added to the discomfiture of all in the city, with Turks on one side and insurgents on the other. Hence, Bryennius changed his strategy from a direct to an indirect approach. The occupation of Thrace with its material and psychological effect was calculated to dislocate the emperor's balance.

Botaniates' situation deteriorated daily. "The treasury was void of money," says the historian Bryennius.[19] "The Army," adds Anna Comnena, "was in ferment."[20] In response, Botaniates sought to buy popularity. He filled the offices of the state with sycophants. The historian Bryennius describes this inane policy with these words: "He trusted the highest dignities of the empire not to valiant warriors or heroic soldiers, or to members of the senatorial class or still to those who showed some zeal, but to all those who asked or begged him."[21]

Finally, alarmed by the news that Bryennius was massing all the available forces of Thrace and Macedonia against him, Botaniates took two decisive steps. First, he appointed Alexius Comnenus to the post of Domestic of the Schools.[22] Second, he sought military aid from the Turkish Princes Mansur and Sulayman, who responded with 2,000 men and assurance of more to come.[23] Meanwhile, he sought to delay the insurgents through negotiations. Perhaps in this way Botaniates hoped to buy some vital time. On the other hand, he may have genuinely been seeking to avert an open conflict by means of some compromise. The avoidance of battle was always a cardinal principle of Byzantine strategy, which found an early proponent in Belisarius[24] and which is repeated in the *Strategicon* of Maurice, the *Tactica* of Leo and the

19. Bryennius, p. 129. 9-10: κἀκ τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας μετὰ βραχύν τινα χρόνον τῶν χρμάτων ἐκλελοιπότων. . . .

20. *Alexiad*, pp. 24. 24-25. 1; p. 18. 5-7: ἐξεκύκα δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν στράτευμα καὶ εἰς ἀμηχανίαν τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην ἐνέβαλλε.

21. Bryennius, pp. 128. 5-129. 1-8.

22. *Alexiad*, p. 25. 2-4; p. 18. 7-10: τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα τὸν Κομνηνὸν 'Αλέξιον κατὰ τοῦ βρυεννίου δομέστικον των σχολων ἄρτι προχειρισθέντα; Bryennius, p. 130. 7-9. On Alexius, see F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène. Etudes sur l'Empire byzantin aux XI*e *et XII*e *siècles*, vol. I: *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I*er *Comnène (1081-1118)*, 2 vols. (Paris: A. Ricard et Fils, 1900-12).

23. Bryennius, p. 130. 9-15: . . . δισχιλίων. . . .

24. *Procopius*, trans. H.B. Dewing, 7 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954-), 1. xviii. 17-20: "men believe that there is only one victory which is unalloyed, namely to suffer no harm of the enemy. . ."; also 1. xiv. 1-3: "The first blessing is peace. . . the best general, therefore, is that one who is able to bring about peace from war. . . ."

Tactica of Nicephorus Phocas.[25]

To carry out this diplomatic manuever Botaniates selected the veteran diplomat, the *Proedros*, Constantine Choirosphactes[26] and his kinsman, Stavroromanus.[27] These delegates met the pretender at Theodoropolis in Thrace, where he was marshalling his army. They greeted Bryennius according to the custom demanded by protocol. He, in turn, responded with cordiality, for "he was anxious to learn the reason for the mission."[28] Stavroromanus in the capacity of chief ambassador spoke first followed by Constantine Choirosphactes. In return for a suspension of hostilities Bryennius was offered the title of Caesar with the assurance that he would succeed Botaniates.[29]

Bryennius responded that he too wished peace and concord and was ready to accept the honor which the emperor had offered him. But, he added, that it was not for himself that he desired the benefits of peace. "It is also for all those who were associated with the enterprise: generals, soldiers, and notables,"[30] Bryennius, however, agreed to accept the emperor's offer with the following provisions: 1.) The emperor should confirm all that he had promised his supporters; 2.) The coronation should take place in Damocrania (Thrace) in the church of the Archangel Michael.[31] Obviously Bryennius was concerned about his safety for he said: "I fear no one but God, but I have no confidence

25. Maurice, *Strategicon*, ed. H. Mihăescu (Bucureşti, 1970), pp. 166-68, emphasizes that battles are to be avoided; instead, one is to obtain one's objective by the maximum use of one's intellect. He urges the use of spies, scouts (p. 168), to gather intelligence. Then the enemy is to be countered by tricks, ambushes, raids and scorched earth policy (p. 252). Leo, *Tactica*, XX. 12, col. 1017, aptly captures the essence of this, as his words illustrate: "To master the enemy by wisdom and generalship is preferable to an open attack." See also ch. XII. 3-4, cols. 805-08: XIV. 2-3, cols. 848-49; and XX. 8-20, cols. 1017-22. This is repeated by Nicephorus Phocas in his Στρατηγικὴ ἔκθεσις καὶ Σύντα- ξις,ed. by J. Kulakovskii, *Mémoires de l'Académie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Péters- burg*, VIIIe série, Classe historico-philologique, 8, no. 9 (1908), 17-18.

26. Bryennius, p. 130. 15-17: "He is described as a cultivated and intelligent man who possessed all the qualities of a political sage." On the title of *Proedros*, see C. Diehl, "De la signification du titre de 'Proèdre' à Byzance," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger à l'occasion du quatre-vingtième anniversaire de sa naissance, 17 octobre 1924*, 2 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1924), I, 105 ff.

27. Bryennius, p. 130. 17-18: He is described as native of Pentapolis in Phrygia who is als a clever and able man.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 130. 20–131. 1-14.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 131. 21–132. 1-8. Below is a translation of the exact words of the offer: "For a long time I have known your father, an able general, who had gained many victories over the Scythians. I have been his companion in arms and his colleague at the head of the companions. I know equally well that you are the worthy son of such a father. That is why since God has elevated me to the empire, I wish to serve you as a father, and an affectionate father. In return, be an obedient son to me and not a rebellious one. Support and prop me in my old age. For today, I offer you the dignity which comes immediately after that of the emperor, I mean to say, that of Caesar; soon you will be my successor, the heir of the Emperor of the Romans."

30. *Ibid.*, p. 132. 13-15: ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ξυμμετασχόντας αὐτῷ τοῦ ἔργου, στρα- τηγούς τε καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ ἄρχοντας.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 132. 19-20–133. 1-5.

in those who constitute the entourage of the emperor."[32] With these counter-proposals from Bryennius, the ambassadors returned to the capital.

When the report was given to Botaniates, he doubted the possibility of an accord.[33] Instead, he decided to waste no more time, but to send Alexius Comnenus with all available forces against the insurgents. Thus the previous policy of pursuing a totally defensive strategy was abandoned. Such a policy had been the salvation of the empire in the past, for many an enemy had dashed itself against the impregnable walls of the city. Botaniates, however, recalled what had happened to his predecessor. With his position deteriorating daily, perhaps he sought to gain from the moral value of an offensive.

The Battle: Phase One

Alexius Comnenus left with all available forces, consisting of the Chomates which had come with Botaniates from Asia Minor;[34] a detachment of Frankish mercenaries who had come from Italy (Anna Comnena notes that this group had shrunk considerably in size);[35] the 2,000 Turks; and the Immortals.[36] The latter were created by the *Logothete* Nicephoritzes during the reign of Michael Ducas and had been designed to serve as the nucleus of a new army.[37] They were supposed to be an elite unit, although not seasoned veterans. Anna Comnena describes them as "having only recently grasped spear and sword."[38]

Alexius' orders (from the emperor's council) were to engage the enemy.[39] As speed was of the essence, he did not wait for the arrival of additional Turkish reinforcements which had been promised earlier.[40] Perhaps by the rapidity of his march he hoped to gain his ends. Leo in his *Tactica* mentions the need of speed in an anecdote concerning Alexander the Great: "When he was asked how he was able to accomplish so much in so short a time, he said, 'By not

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32. *Ibid.*, p. 133. 7-8: φοβεῖσθαι μὲν ἔφησεν οὐδένα πλὴν τὸν θέον, ἀπιστεῖν δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς πλείστοις.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 133. 14-15.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 133. 17-18: Τοὺς χωματηνοὺς λεγομένους. οἱ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐληλύθεισαν τοῦ Βοτανειάτου; *Alexiad*, p. 25. 16; p. 18. 22: καί τινες ἐκ τοῦ χώματος στρατιῶται, ὀλίγοι. . . .

35. Bryennius, p. 133. 18: καὶ φρόγγων τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας; *Alexiad*, p. 25. 17, 18. 22-23: καὶ κελτική τις στρατιὰ εἰς ὀλίγους τινὰς περὶ ἰσταμένη.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 25. 19; 18. 25; Bryennius, p. 130. 12-15, mentions 2,000 with the promise of more to come.

37. On the refernece, *ibid.*, p. 133. 20: ἀθάνατοι; *Alexiad*, p. 25. 14; p. 18. 20. On Nicephoritzes, see R. Guilland, "Les eunuques dan l'empire byzantin," *Etudes byzantines*, 1 (1943), 197-238, esp. 230-31. On the immortals and how they derived their name, see Bryennius, pp. 133. 20–134. 1-20.

38. *Alexiad*, pp. 25. 14-16; 18. 21: . . . χθὲς καὶ πρῴην ξίφους ἠμμένοι καὶ δόρατος. . .

39. *Ibid.*, p. 25. 19-20; p. 18. 25-26: ἐξιέναι οἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα προσέταττον καὶ ξυμμίξαι. τῷ Βρυεννίῳ. . . .

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 26. 2; 18. 28-29: ὁ δὲ τῆν ξυμμαχίαν μὴ περιμείνας. . . .

putting off for tomorrow what I could do today.' "[41]

Advancing into Thrace, Alexius pitched camp on the Halmyrus River (not far from the fortress of Calavrytae). Curiously he did not take precautions to fortify his camp with either a trench or a palisade.[42] This was a violation of one of the cardinal principles of camp security. Leo's *Tactica*, the *Anonymous Vari*, and the manual of Nicephorus Phocas all emphasize security.[43] An encampment is imperative, say Nicephorus Phocas and the *Tactica* of Leo, even if it is for a single night.[44] According to the *Anonymous Vari*, the camp is to be protected by both an inner and outer trench.[45] The *Tactica* of Leo adds that the proper way to fortify a camp is to dig a trench, five or six feet wide and seven or eight feet deep, and to heap the earth from the trench outside in order to make an encampment.[46] If time prevents this or the terrain is unsuitable, caltrops are recommended.[47] As a further precautionary measure, leg-breaking pits with wooden stakes in each are also mentioned by Leo in his *Tactica*.[48] For reasons not mentioned the precautions ordained in the manuals were not taken by Alexius. Perhaps he did not want to fatigue his men with the enemy so dangerously near or to reduce their morale. Leo's *Tactica* allows for this in his XIVth Constitution.[49]

His next step was to gather intelligence. Intelligence gathering was a characteristic feature of the Byzantine art of war and is recommended by all Byzantine military manuals.[50] From his scouts and spies Alexius learned that

41. Leo, *Tactica*. XX. 88, col. 1037: καὶ γὰρ καὶ 'Αλέξανδρόν ποτε τὸν βασιλέα ἐρωτώμενον, πῶς ἐν ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα μεγάλα κατώρθωσε πράγματα, λέγεται εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐδὲν δεόμενον τῇ σήμερον ὑπερεθέμην εἰς τὴν αὔριον.

42. *Alexiad*, p. 26. 5-6: p. 19. 3-4: περὶ τὸν 'Αλμυρὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύξι ἄνευ τάφρων καὶ χάρακος: Bryennius, p. 135. 2-5 (at Calavrytae) καλοβρύη.

43. On the Byzantine camp, see Leo, *Tactica*, XIII: Περὶ ἀπλίκτων, cols. 792-805 (the most detailed); Nicephorus Phocas, pp. 11-20; *Anonymous Vari*, ed. R. Vari (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 1-17 –all these manuals emphasize site, layout of site, fortifications, and provisions for security.

44. Nicephorus Phocas, p. 19; Leo, *Tactica*, XI. 1-2, cols. 792-93.

45. *Anonymous Vari*, p. 4. 15-17: ὁ δὲ χάραξ βάθος μὲν ἐχέτω ποδῶν ἑπτὰ ἤ ὀκτὼ κάτωθεν εἰς σπενὸν ἀπολήγων εὖρος δὲ ἐχέτω πόδας πέντε ἤ καὶ ἕξ.

46. Leo, *Tactica*, XI. 2, cols. 793: ὅταν τοί νυν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν χώρᾳ στρατοπεδεύῃς περιβάλλου τάφρον βαθεῖαν . . . ; and XV, col. 796: καὶ ἔξωθεν τάφρον ποιεῖν πλάτους μὲν ποδῶν ε' ἤ ς'. ἔξωθεν βάθους δὲ ς' ἤ η'. . . .

47. *Ibid.*, XI, chs. 26-27, col. 800. See also J. A. de Foucault, "Douze chapitres inédits de Nicéphore Ouranos," *Travaux et Mémoires*, 5 (1973), 216-311, esp. 299. 11. Here all the precautionary measures are briefly summarized, including caltrops and foot traps: εἰς δὲ τὸν καστροπόλεμον . . . ὀφείλει δὲ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἔξωθεν τῶν πεζῶν σοῦδα, καὶ ἔξωθεν τῆς σούδας πάλιν ἵνα ῥίπτωνται τριβόλια καὶ τρισκέλια μετὰ τξι πάτων, ἄν ἄρα καὶ βαστάξῃ αὐτὰ ὁ λαός.

48. Leo, *Tactica*, VI, ch. 15, col. 796.

49. *Ibid.*, XIV, ch. 2, cols. 848-49: Σὲ δὲ πολλὰ πονεῖν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς συμβολῆς. ἵνα μὴ τῷ πολλῷ κόπῳ καὶ τῇ συντριβῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιλανθάνῃς. μηδὲν κατολιγωρεῖν σε ἀπὸ τῆς φροντιδ̀ος. . . .

50. Bryennius, p. 135. 12; Leo, *Tactica*, XVIII. 28-29, col. 953; Nicephorus Phocas, p. 20. 10-21; and Nicephorus Ouranos, pp. 287. 1-2 and 289. 4.

the enemy was encamped in the plain of Cedoctus.[51] According to the histo-
rian Bryennius, Alexius' spies seemingly slipped in and out of the insurgents'
camp at will.[52] Only on the eve of the battle were some of them caught. This
carelessness on the part of Bryennius is difficult to understand. Perhaps the
size of the army made him a bit overconfident.

Gathering these intelligence reports, Alexius laid his plans. As he was infe-
rior in men and his army lacked experience, he resolved to seek victory by
what can be described as a strategy of the indirect approach. This is confirmed
by both Anna Comnena and the historian Bryennius. The former writes of Al-
exius' plans: "Because he was on the point of fighting with inexperienced
[troops] against seasoned veterans, and with a few against many, he abandoned
the idea of making a bold and direct attack, but decided to gain his victory by
cunning."[53] Bryennius corroborates this: "For this reason the Domestic of
the Schools, inferior in numbers, wished to defeat the enemy, not by daring
but by the preparation of a plan and cunning."[54] Alexius was, therefore, con-
tinuing a tradition outlined centuries earlier. Note the words of Leo the Wise:
"To master the enemy, wisdom and generalship [i.e., strategy] are preferable
to open attack."[55]

With Alexius blocking his advance, the insurgent leader had no choice but
to prepare for battle.[56] He marshalled his forces in the following manner. He
posted on his right wing his brother John. This wing consisted of Frankish
mercenaries,[57] Thessalian cavalry,[58] and a detachment (moira) of Compani-
ons (Heterioi).[59] In all, it had 5,000 men.[60] The left wing was entrusted to
the able strategist Catacalon Tarchaniotes with 3,000 Macedonian and Thraci-
an forces.[61] In the center—the usual position of honor—the pretender him-
self commanded the elite of Thrace and Macedonia and the Thessalian caval-
ry.[62] The size of Bryennius' division is not known, but it could not have been
smaller than that of Tarchaniotes. We note that Leo in his XVIIIth Constitu-

51. Bryennius, p. 135. 13: κηδόκτου πεδιόις; Alexiad, p. 26. 4-7; p. 19. 3-5.
52. Bryennius, pp. 135. 14-20−136. 1.
53. Alexiad, p. 26. 12-14; p. 19. 10-13.
54. Bryennius, p. 135. 9-11: ἀλλὰ καὶ μελέτῃ καί αγλωοίᾳ καταστρατῆγσαιτῶν
πολεμίων.
55. Leo, Tactica;XX. 12, col. 1017: Τὸ διὰ βουλῆς μᾶλλον καὶ στρατηγίας κρατεῖν
τῶν ἐχθρῶν . . . .
56. Alexiad, p. 27. 9-10; pp. 19. 30−20. 1-2: ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἐφόδους αὐτοῦ προϋποτέμνε-
σθαι τὸν Κομνηνὸν 'Αλέξιον μεμαθήκοι καὶ περὶ καλαύρην στρατοπεδεύειν. . . .
57. Bryennius, p. 136. 4-5; Alexiad, p. 27. 14-15; p. 20.6 (she calls them Italians,
('Ιταλοί).
58. Bryennius, p. 136.5; Alexiad, p. 27.7 (θετταλίας ἄνδρες ἱππεῖς).
59. Ibid., p. 27.16: p. 20. 8: μοῖρα τις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑταιρίας. . . ; Bryennius, p. 136.6.
60. Ibid., p. 136.7; πεντακισχιλίων; Alexiad, p. 27. 13; p. 20. 5: πεντακισχίλιοι.
61. Bryennius, p. 136.9: ἀνὴρ καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ στρατηγικαῖς. On the size of
the forces, ibid., p. 136. 10-11; Alexiad, p. 27. 16-19; p. 20. 8-10.
62. Ibid., p. 27. 19-23; p. 20. 11-16; and Bryennius, p. 136. 11-14.

tion of the *Tactica* recommends that an army should be divided into three e-qual divisions.[63] Outside the main division, circling on the extreme left was a detachment of Scythian (Pecheneg) forces. They marched about one-fourth of a mile (two *stades*) distant from the main army.[64] In all, Bryennius' army numbered about 12,000 men.

The tactics which Bryennius chose were in keeping with standard Byzantine practice, according to which the main army would advance in an extended line and fix their adversaries. Then when a signal was given, the Scythians (Pechenegs) would fall upon the rear of Alexius' army and harass it with a continuous shower of arrows.[65] According to the *Tactica* of Leo, such a unit was called the *Hyperkerastoi* (ὑπερκεράσται), or outflanking wing.[66] Such movements and ambushes were traditional practices of the Byzantine army. Leo's *Tactica* gives a fine example in which Arab raiders passing the Tarsus range were intercepted by just such a maneuver.[67]

While leaving his troops concealed in a valley not far from the enemy's camp Alexius personally reconnoitered the field.[68] First hand knowledge of the terrain by the commander is recommended by Leo also.[69] At the same time Alexius did his utmost to conceal the view of the enemy from his men. Perhaps he feared their morale would be affected if they saw the enemy's superior forces. On the other hand, Leo urges this sort of precaution until the enemy's dispositions are known.[70] As the moment of battle approached, an order arrived from Botaniates to avoid battle and to wait for additional Turkish reinforcements which were on the way.[71] According to Bryennius' account, this was easier said than done. He writes: "It was impossible to remain in that place without fighting, for the enemy was already dangerously close and ready to fight."[72] Alexius, therefore, ignored the orders and decided to challenge the insurgents.

From his scouts as well as from his own personal observation, he was able

63. Leo, *Tactica*, XVIII. 143, col. 981.
64. *Alexiad*, p. 28. 7-9; p. 20. 22-23.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 28. 9-14; p. 20. 25-30.
66. Leo, *Tactica*, XII. 28, col. 813: καὶ᾽ βάνδον ἕν ἢ δύο βάνδα τοξότας τοὺς λεγομένους ὑπερκεράστας ἤγουν ἐτοίμους ὄντας εἰς κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίων.
67. *Ibid.*, XVIII, chs. 134-35, cols. 977-80. On ambush and ruses, see above, n. 25.
68. Bryennius, p. 136. 22-23: Τὸ μὲν στράτευμα ἅπαν ἐν κοιλάσι κατέκρυψεν. Bryennius notes that Alexius climbed a hill to observe the field: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ λόφον ἀνελθὼν κατεσκόπει τὰ ἐκείνων.
69. Leo, *Tactica*, XIV. 30, col. 857; also XIV. 110, col. 884. See also Nicephorus Ouranos, p. 289. 4: ... τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ... πρὸς τὸ ἀποστεῖλαι καὶ κρατῆσαι γλῶσσαν καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς μαθεῖν βεβαίως περὶ τῆς χώρας.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 137. 1-5; Leo, *Tactica*, XIV. 5, col. 849, warns that one should not reveal oneself to the enemy until one has learned of his dispositions.
71. Bryennius, p. 137. 5-9.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 137. 9-10: μένειν μὲν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν μὴ συνάψαντα πόλεμον, τῶν πολεμίων εἰς χεῖρας ἤδη ἰόντων. ὑποχωρεῖν δὲ ἄνευ πολέμου ἀνάξιον ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ.

to ascertain the nature of the terrain. The field before him was partly open and partly broken. There were many valleys and hollows.[73] Such a terrain was ideal for concealing a force which could strike suddenly at an enemy's flank and rear. The *Tactica* of Leo again recommends the selection of such a battleground.[74] With this information, Alexius proceeded to marshall his forces. The main army was divided into two divisions or wings. The left wing was retained by him. It consisted of the "Immortals" and the Frankish mercenaries.[75] The right wing was entrusted to Constantine Catacalon. It was made up of the Chomates and Turks.[76] The Turkish forces, say Anna Comnena, were to pay special attention to the incursion of the Scythian (Pecheneg) force.[77] The *Tactica* of Leo calls such a unit a *plagiophylakes* (Πλαγιοφύλακες) or flank guard.[78] Their role tactically was to prevent the turning action of the enemy. To the extreme left of Alexius' wing, hidden in a hollow, was placed a detachment with the express orders to fall on the insurgents right wing.[79] Leo's *Tactica* calls such a division of troops, the *enedroi* (ἐνέδροι)—the lying-in-wait or ambushing wing[80] (see Fig. 1).

Since Alexius was outnumbered by the insurgents, he remained on the defensive and awaited their attack. The *Tactica* of Leo recommends such an initial posture.[81] When John Bryennius' wing reached the hollows, Alexius gave a signal and the *enedroi* attacked. The suddenness of their assault momentarily threw John's troops into disorder. Anna Comnena describes the scene in the following manner: "The men lying in ambush jumped out on them with shouts and war cries and by the suddeness of their attack, each striking and killing those whom he chanced to meet they threw the enemy into a panic."[82] Discipline and experience, however, saved the wing from disaster. John Bryennius rallied his forced and parried the blow. The historian Byrennius describes how this occurred: "They were almost put to flight, when their commander, John Bryennius drew his sword, and followed by some men, cut down the first of the "Immortals" who attacked him. Others were killed by

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73. *Ibid.*, p. 137. 13-14: κατασκοπήσας οὖν τὸν τόπον ἐπεὶ εἶδε τὸ μὲν ἀναπεπτα-μένον τὸ δὲ λόφους καὶ κοιλάδας ἔχον.
74. Leo, *Tactica.*, XIV. 42, col. 862.
75. Bryennius, p. 137. 16-17; *Alexiad*, p. 29. 1-3; p. 21. 9-11;
76. Bryennius, p. 137. 17-19; *Alexiad*, p. 29. 3-4; p. 21. 11-12.
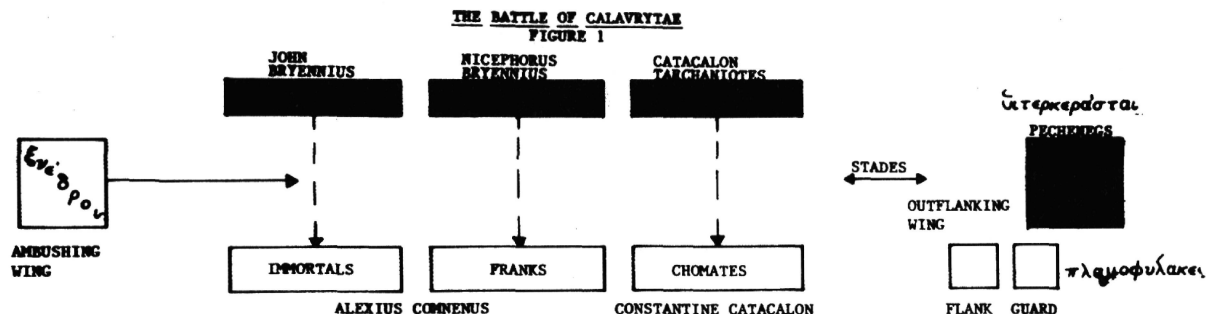77. *Ibid.*, p. 29. 5-6; p. 21. 12-14.
78. Leo, *Tactica*, XII. 28, col. 813B: Παρατάξεις δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τάξει οὕτως. Εἰς μὲν τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος, εἰς ὁμάλιστα καὶ κυκλώσεις τῶν ἐναντίων εὐκόλως γίνονται, δυὸ ἢ τρία βάνδα. ἵνα εἰσι πλαγιοφύλακες ἱστάμενοι ἴσοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέρους.
79. Bryennius, p. 137. 15-16; *Alexiad*, p. 29. 6-12; p. 21. 14-20. Earlier, *ibid.*, p. 28. 9-14; p. 20. 25-30, their tactics in battle are examined.
80. Leo, *Tactica*, XII. 34, col. 816: ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ πᾶσιν κελεύομέν σοι ὥστε καὶ τρία ἤ τέσσαρα βανδα, τοὺς λεγομένους ἐνέδρους . . . .
81. *Ibid.*, XIV. 39 and 40, cols. 860-61.
82. *Alexiad*, p. 29. 6-12; p. 21. 14-20.

THE BATTLE OF CALAVRYTAE
FIGURE 1

NICEPHORUS
BRYENNIUS
CATACALON
TARCHANIOTES

ἔνεδρον

STADES

ὑπερκεράσται

PECHENEGS

AMBUSHING
WING

OUTFLANKING
WING

IMMORTALS

FRANKS

CHOMATES

FLANK GUARD

πλαμοφυλακει

ALEXIUS COMNENUS

CONSTANTINE CATACALON

INSURGENT FORCES ■

Right wing: John Bryennius, Domestic of
the Schools, commands the
Companions, Frankish mercenaries
and Thessalian Cavalry (5,000 men).

Center: Necephorus Bryennius, Pretender,
commands the elite of Thrace and
Macedonia as well as the Thessalian
Cavalry (5,000 men).

Left Wing: Catacalon Tarchaniotes, commands
the Macedonians and Thracians
(3,000 men).

Outflanking wing: consists of Pechenegs.

IMPERIAL FORCES □

Left wing: The Immortals.

Center: Frankish mercenaries. They
are both under the direct
command of Alexius Comnenus,
the Domestic of the Schools.

Right wing: Constantine Catacalon commands
the Chomates.

Flank guard: consists of 200 - 400 Turks.
Later 2,000 would arrive to
participate in the second
phase of the battle.

other men. Finally Bryennius rallied his forces and folded up the enemy."[83] Anna Comnena repeats this with only a minor variation, "And John Bryennius, the brother of the general, knowing of his impetuous strength and courage, turned his horse with his curb and cut down with a single blow an immortal coming at him, halted the confusion in his wing, rallied his men, and drove off the enemy."[84] Alexius' left wing, thereupon panicked. Many of the "Immortals" who fled in disorder were cut down by those behind them."[85] The historian Bryennius states that the "Immortals" were cut down almost to a man.[86] This, however, is clearly an exaggeration, for Alexius later rallied some of them when the battle was renewed.

In the meantime Alexius' right wing was faring no better. Here Catacalon's Chomates, engaged face to face with Tarchaniotes wing, were taken in the rear by the Scythian (Pecheneg) flanking wing.[87] How this occurred is not completely clear; for the Turkish flank guards were supposed to prevent it. Perhaps they posted themselves too far to the right and were simply unable to come to their aid. Be that as it may, the insurgents' flanking wing apparently, simply slipped in between Catacalon's wing and the Turkish flank guard (see Fig. 2). The Chomates like the "Immortals" were routed. The Scythian (Pecheneg) flanking wing, however, threw away a golden opportunity to put the victory in the bag at this point. For, instead, of pursuing the routed force of Catacalon to prevent their regrouping, they turned to loot the insurgent's own camp where horses and booty were kept.[88] The attack on Bryennius' camp threw the whole baggage train or *touldon* into disorder.[89] Panic ensued as refugees fled the camp and ran out on to the battlefield. Anna Comnena wisely notes that this was a turning point in the battle, with these words: "They turned their minds to looting, and went off on their own devices, for such is the Scythian nation. Before they had even entirely routed their opponents or consolidated their gain they spoiled their victory by looting."[90] Leo's *Tactica* and Nicephorus Ouranos emphasize the importance of pursuit in order to achieve victory.[91]

83. Bryennius, p. 138. 3-6.
84. *Alexiad*, p. 29. 12-16; p. 21. 20-25.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 29. 17; p. 21. 25-26.
86. Bryennius, p. 138. 6-7: οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀθάνατοι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον πάντες ᾤχοντο.
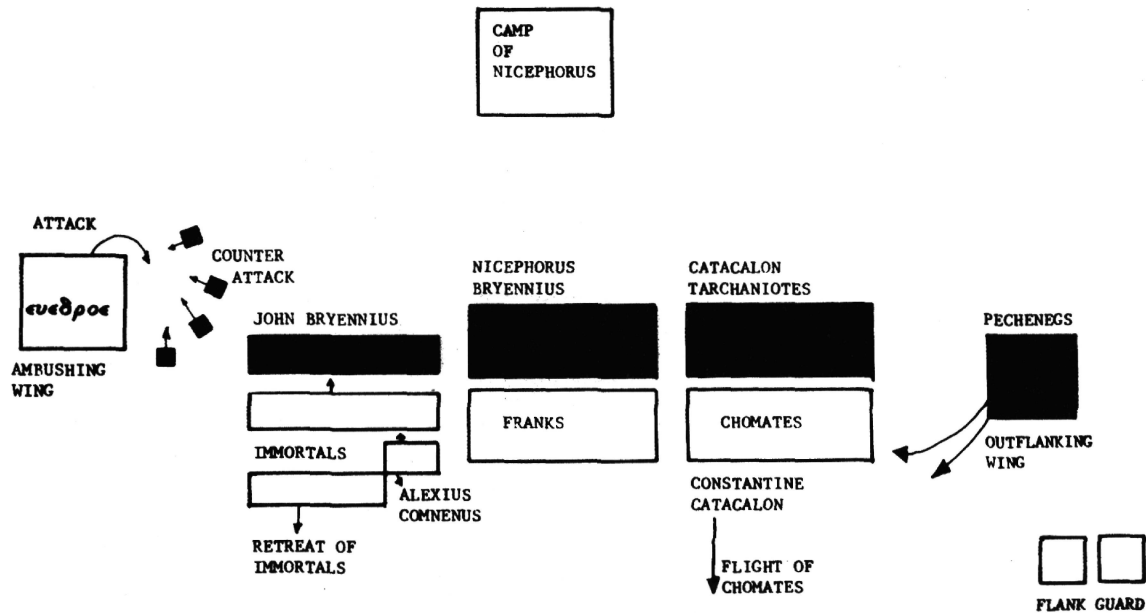87. *Ibid.*, p. 139. 3-9; *Alexiad*, p. 30. 12-17; p. 22. 15-21.
88. Bryennius, p. 139. 8-9.
89. *Alexiad*, pp. 30. 20-22–31. 1-3; p. 22. 23-29. Anna notes that the impact threw the standards into disorder: τῶν σημαιῶν ἀναμιχθεισῶν ἀλλήλαις. Bryennius agrees, see p. 139. 9-12. On the *touldon*, see A. Dain, "Touldos et Touldon dans les traités militaires," in Παγκάρπεια. *Mélanges H. Grégoire*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1950), II, 161-69.
90. *Alexiad*, p. 30. 16-20; p. 22. 19-12.
91. Leo, *Tactica*, XII. 78, col. 829: This is also emphasized in the *Tactica* of Nicephorus Ouranos, p. 295. 7: . . . ἁρμόζει καταδιώκειν αὐτοὺς ἕως οὗ τελείως καταλυθῶσι, πλὴν οὕτως ἵνα καταδιώκωνται. ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἴπομεν λεπτομερῶς. Ἵνα δὲ διώκωνται ἕως τότε ἕως οὗ, ὡς εἴρηται, τελείως παραλυθῶσι πρὸς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τότε συσταθῆναι καὶ ὑποστρέψαι.

FIGURE 2

CAMP
OF
NICEPHORUS

ATTACK

COUNTER
ATTACK

ευεδροε

AMBUSHING
WING

JOHN BRYENNIUS

NICEPHORUS
BRYENNIUS

CATACALON
TARCHANIOTES

PECHENEGS

IMMORTALS

FRANKS

CHOMATES

OUTFLANKING
WING

ALEXIUS
COMNENUS

CONSTANTINE
CATACALON

RETREAT OF
IMMORTALS

FLIGHT OF
CHOMATES

FLANK GUARD

As these events were taking place, the Frankish mercenaries who made up Alexius' center were totally enveloped by the wings of John Bryennius and Tarchaniotes. They probably turned inwards after their respective opponents were driven off the field (see Fig. 3). Alexius himself was in grave difficulty; for he had plunged into the middle of the melée. His bravery is vividly portrayed by both his daughter Anna and the historian Bryennius.[92] As he saw the battle take a sudden unfavorable turn, he momentarily thought of risking his life in an attempt to kill the insurgent leader. Although this seems like a wild gesture, actually it has merit as a last-ditch effort. In ancient and medieval warfare the general was the army's moral dynamo and also its brain—its general staff. That is why it was imperative to kill him. Leo's *Tactica* notes the dramatic effect this can have on an army.[93] Alexius, however, was dissuaded from this effort by his loyal servant Theodore.[94] Instead, he and six of his companions decided to retire and try to regroup their broken forces. As they were withdrawing, they chanced to see the "Imperial" horse of Bryennius adorned with all the royal regalia and bearing the two swords of state. Quick to see in this an opportunity, Alexius and his companions charged the royal escort guarding it and rode off with the royal stallion.[95] With all the confusion about them, they escaped probably via the avenue cut by the Scythian horse (see Fig. 3).

From the first phase of the battle one can see that the tactics of the two contestants were basically the same. Each side sought to fix its opponents with his main body while an out-flanking wing (in the case of Bryennius) or an ambushing wing (in the case of Alexius) would determine the fate of the battle. If one compares this with the *Tactica* of Leo, one can clearly see that Byzantine traditional practices, as far as tactics, are concerned, were adhered to into the closing period of the eleventh century. This becomes even more obvious on closer scrutiny. According to Leo, in a cavalry contest the army should be divided into three lines. The first line should be divided into three *moira* or *drungai*.[96] Leo notes elsewhere that if the army was 4,000 strong, the first line ought to consist of 500 men divided into three equal parts.[97] The

92. *Alexiad*, pp. 29. 18-22–30. 1-2; pp. 21. 27-22. 1-4; Bryennius, p. 138. 7-10.

93. Leo, *Tactica*, XII. 65, cols. 823-25.

94. *Alexiad*, p. 30. 2-9; p. 22. 4-12; Bryennius, pp. 138. 10-22–139. 1-2, hints that Alexius desired to throw away his life because he had disobeyed the emperor's order to wait for Turkish reinforcements: ἢ τὸ παρακούσαντα βασιλέως δίκας εἰ σπραχθήσεται τῆς παρακοῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 139. 12-20; *Alexiad*, p. 31. 4-16; pp. 22. 29–23. 1-12.

96. Leo, *Tactica*, XII. 26, col. 812.

97. *Ibid.*, XVIII. 143, col. 981: ποιήσεις παράταξιν ποικίλην ὡς ἐν τύπῳ εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ ἀνορῶν, δ' ἐπιλέκτων, οὕτως· πρώτη μὲν ἔστω παράταξις, ἡ λεγομένη πρόμαχος, ἀνὸ ρῶν, ἀφ' καὶ εἰς τρία διαιρήσεις ἴσα μέρη, δεξιὸν, ἀριστερὸν, μέσον, ὥστε εἶνα καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν φ', ἔγγιστα ἀλλήλων τῶν τριῶν τούτων ταξέων παρατεταγμένων, ὡς δοκεῖν μίαν εἶναι τὴν τάξιν. . . .

FIGURE 3
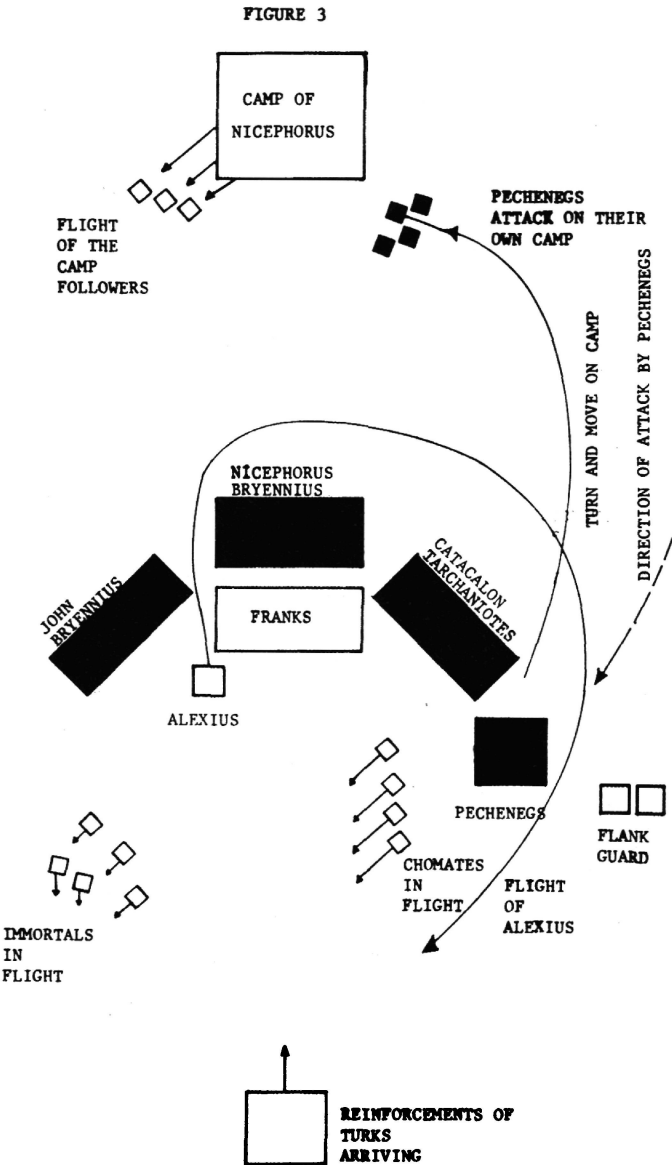
ὑποστράτεγος would take his position in the middle with the Turmarchs to the left and right.[98] To the left of this line where there was danger of envelopment, Leo states that two or three bands should be placed to act as a flank guard (πλαγιοφύλακες).[99] To the right you should have one or two bands of archers who will act as your flanking wing (ὑπερκεράσται).[100] Its function was to fall on the enemy's left flank and rear.

Following the first line came the second auxiliary line of four bands, a bow shot apart.[101] According to the XVIIIth Constitution of Leo, it was to consist of 1,000 men if the army equalled 4,000. Each band consisted of 250 men.[102] To give this line a sense of solidarity a group of men (250 or 300 perhaps) were to be placed in the intervals between each band.[103] This second line was to support the first. The intervals between the bands were to provide avenues of retreat in case the first line was routed. It is from behind this auxiliary line that a rally would be initiated. Some distance behind the second line, on its flanks, were placed two bands to serve as a reserve.[104] Finally, far out from the line of battle, to the left and right, were two groups of two bands called the *enedroi*—those lying-in-wait or ambushing wing. They were to circle the field, hide in the woods, hollows or hills, and strike the enemy's flank and rear.[105]

One can see from the description above that for most part the main characteristics of the system described by Leo were still in use in this battle. Only with respect to how they fought is there silence in our sources, for neither Anna Comnena nor her husband Bryennius mentions an auxiliary force or a reserve. However, this may be just an oversight or an oversimplication of what took place. If there were an auxiliary and a reserve, it would certainly better explain how John Bryennius rallied his men. For example, as Alexius' *enedroi* struck John's wing as planned, the impact threw back his first line. Escaping through the intervals in the secondary, John then rallied his men and counterattacked with his reserve.

The Regrouping of the Imperial Forces

Returning to a hill not far from the battlefield, Alexius resolved to rally his scattered forces. He sent a herald to announce to them that Bryennius, the insurgent leader, was dead, with the imperial stallion bearing the two swords of

98. *Ibid.*, XII. 26, col. 812: καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μέρει τάξεις τὸν ὑποστρατηγόν σου. . . .

99. *Ibid.*, XII. 28, col. 813: δύο ἤ τρία βανδα, ἵνα εἰσι πλαγιοφύλακες ἱστάμενοι ἴσοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέρους. . . .

100. *Ibid.*, XII. 28., col. 813: Καὶ βάνδον ἕν ἤ δύο· βάνδα τοξότας τοὺς λεγομένους ὑπερκεράστας. . . .

101. *Ibid.*, XII. 29, col. 813: τὴν δὲ δευτέραν παράταξιν τὴν λεγομένην βοηθὸν τάξεις, ἵνα ἔχῃ τὸ τρίτον ποσὸν τοῦ παντὸς στρατοῦ. . . .

102. *Ibid.*, XVIII. 143, col. 981.

103. *Ibid.*, XII. 31, col. 813; and XVIII. 147, col. 985.

104. *Ibid.*, XII. 30, col. 813.

105. *Ibid.*, XII. 34, col. 816: . . . τοὺς λεγομένους ἐνέδρους ·

state as evidence. Within a short time his men were collected at which point a detachment of Turkish allies arrived.[106] The historian Bryennius says that they had been sent by the emperor.[107] The morale of the army was suddenly uplifted by these turn of events, and Alexius decided immediately to survey the battlefield situation. He and his captains climbed a nearby hill.[108] What they saw, gave them hope. Bryennius' army was in total confusion. Lines had not been reformed and regimental standards were all disarrayed.[109] The effect of the Scythian raid (Pecheneg) on the insurgent camp could be witnessed. Alexius' Frankish mercenaries, surrounded by the enemy, had dismounted and offered to surrender.[110] To the insurgents the battle appeared to have been won.

The Battle: Second Phase

The battle, however, was far from over. Alexius quickly formulated a new plan. He divided his force into three divisions. Two were to lie in wait until a signal was given, while a third was to advance against the enemy. Anna Comnena adds: "The whole plan was conceived by Alexius."[111] The attacking arm was divided up into small groups, perhaps for greater effect. The Turkish horse archers were to open the attack.[112] Their orders were to let loose a shower of arrows. Following the Turks came Alexius with the support group of rallied units (Fig. 4). The ability of Alexius to rally his broken forces in such a short time and to re-engage the enemy illustrates that this heterogeneous army had a good deal of discipline. For this phase of the battle the commentary of Anna Comnena is clearer. What ensued were skirmishing tactics on the part of Alexius' forces, with some of his men naturally focusing their attention on killing Bryennius. Both Anna and the grandson of the pretender describe in vivid detail how Bryennius beat off repeated attempts to kill him.[113]

At first the suddenness of Alexius' attack stymied Bryennius' forces; but, his

106. *Alexiad,* pp. 31. 16-23–32. 1-8: 23. 12-29; Bryennius, pp. 139. 20–140. 1-7; τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν φευγόντων μένεω ἔπειθε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ παλινοστεῖν; *Alexiad,* p. 32. 18-19: p. 27. 8-10: ἀπόμοιρά τις ἐκ τῆς συμμαχίας τῶν τούρκων καταλαμβάνε τὸν δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν. . . . Anna is, however, not specific as to where they came from. Was it the flankguard?

107. Bryennius, p. 140. 8-9. He says sent by the emperor Τούρκων οὐκὶελαχίστην μοῖραν πρὸς συμμαχίαν ἄρτι. πρὸς βασιλέως ἀπεστάλθαι·

108. *Alexiad,* p. 32. 22-23; p. 24. 12-13:   ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς συνεληλυθότες τῷ Κομνηνῷ 'Αλλεξίῳ: Bryennius, p. 140. 13-16.
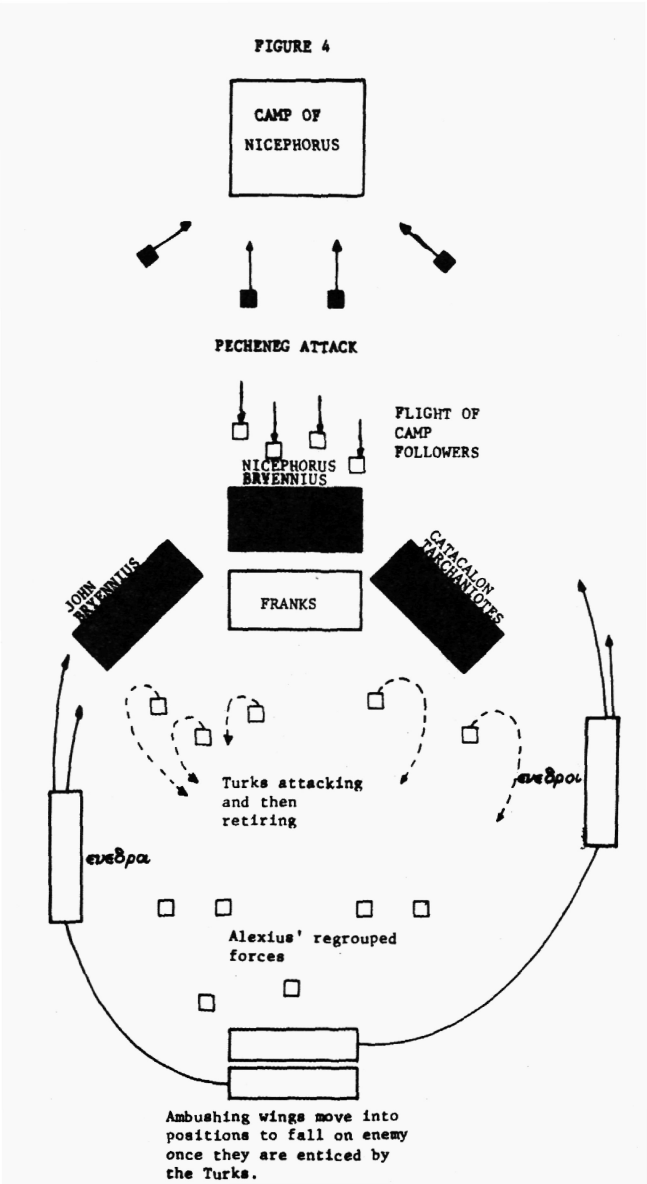
109. *Ibid.,* p. 140. 16-19; *Alexiad,* p. 33. 1-4; p. 24. 15-17; they both agree that the lines had not been reformed: Συοκεχυμένοι τε γὰρ ἦσαν μήπω συντάξαντες ἑαυτούς. . . .

110. *Ibid.,* p. 33. 7-10; p. 24. 20-23; she adds that they offered their right hand according to custom (δεξιὰς διδόντων); Bryennius, pp. 140. 20–141. 1-2.

111. *Alexiad,* p. 33. 16-17; p. 24. 30-31: καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν τῆς τοιαύτης διαταγῆς ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα 'Αλέξιον ἀνεφέρετο· On Alexius' dispositions. *ibid.,* p. 33. 14-16; p. 24. 28-30.

112. *Ibid.,* pp. 33. 17-23–34. 1; 24. 31–25. 1-7: . . .μεμερισμένως καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κατά τινας ὁμίλους. . . .

113. Bryennius. pp. 141. 20-142. 1-3; *Alexiad,* p. 34. 11-16; p. 25. 16-21.

FIGURE 4

CAMP OF
NICEPHORUS

PECHENEG ATTACK

FLIGHT OF
CAMP
FOLLOWERS

NICEPHORUS
BRYENNIUS

JOHN
BRYENNIUS

CATACALON
TARCHANIOTES

FRANKS

Turks attacking
and then
retiring

ενεδροι

ενεδρα

Alexius' regrouped
forces

Ambushing wings move into
positions to fall on enemy
once they are enticed by
the Turks.

veterans regained their balance and charged the Turkish horsearchers. For a short time Alexius and his Turks held their ground.[114] Then they retired as planned in an orderly fashion in order to lure the insurgents into a pre-arranged ambush (see Fig. 4). When the appointed spot was reached, they turned suddenly and met the enemy face to face.[115] At that moment, those lying-in-wait struck Bryennius' army. Anna Comnena describes the scene: "Thereupon, at a given signal, those lying-in-wait rode through them like a swarm of wasps from different directions, and with loud shouts and war cires, and continued shooting; they filled the ears of those around Bryeenius with a great noise and they darkened their eyes with the thickness of the arrows which came on them from all sides."[116] The historian Bryennius states that the pretender's brother John tired valiantly to rally the insurgents, but the army broke into flight.[117] Nicephorus and John tried their best to fight a rear-guard action, but eventually they were worn down and forced to surrender.[118] So ended the Battle of Calvrytae. As in the early phase of battle, the second phase drew much from the traditional practices laid down earlier. As a matter of fact, an identical description to Alexius' tactics can be seen in Chapter 42 of the XIVth Constitution of Leo's *Tactica.*[119]

Conclusion

In conclusion, one can say that, while the Battle of Calvrytae was fought at a time when the Byzantine armies were undergoing a tremendous change following the collapse of the traditional theme system, by and large the state of the *Art militaire* remained virtually intact. With respect to the strategy employed by the two contestants both adhered to the traditional practices of the past. Alexius, for instance, resolved to defeat his rival by the strategy of the indirect approach. I noted earlier this method had its roots going back to Belisarius in the sixth century. Bryennius' strategy was no different. He sought to win by strategic dislocation.

A more striking example of a continuity in the *Art militaire* can be witnessed in the tactics used in this battle. Both generals endeavored to win by flanking movements; and the tactics which were laid down by Leo the Wise in the tenth century were used by both.

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114. Bryennius, pp. 141. 20–142. 1-3; *Alexiad*, p. 34. 11-16; p. 25. 16-21.
115. *Alexiad*, p. 34. 16-20; p. 25. 21-26: ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς κατὰ μέτωπον τούτοις εἰστήκεσαν·
116. *Ibid.,* pp. 34. 20–35. 1-3; pp. 25. 26-27. 1; Bryennius, p. 142. 4-8.
117. *Ibid.,* p. 142. 8-14; *Alexiad*, p. 35. 6-10; p. 26. 5-8.
118. *Ibid.,* pp. 35. 10-23–36. 1-18; 26. 8–27. 1-10.
119. Leo, *Tactica*, XIV. 42, col. 861: Ἄλλοι δε μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔταξαν εἰς ἐγκρυμμα, καὶ αὐτὸ μεῖξου μέρος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὀλιγότερον, τῆς δὲ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἑκουσιῶς τῶν προταγέντων εἰς φυγὴν ὁρμησάντων, καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν δίωξιν ἀτάκτως ποιουμένων, μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξελθόντες οἱ τὸ ἔγκρυμμα ποιήσαντες κατὰ τοῦ νώτου ὄπισθεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπέστησαν· εἶτα καὶ οἱ φυγόντες ἀντίστροφοι γινόμενοι πρὸς τὸ σύνθημα ὄπερ προόρισαν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἀπέλαβον αὐτούς.

WILLIAM ZEISEL (New York, U.S.A.)

Suffragium *and the Origins of Simony*

Simony—the purchase of ecclesiastical office and preferment—is as old as
the Church. Simony was not frequent, however, until the fourth century,
when it was condemned as improper by such churchmen as John Chrysostom
and Basil of Caesarea. These and subsequent condemnations by church coun-
cils and synods seem to have had little effect, for in the legislation of Justini-
an purchase of ecclesiastical office and preferment is depicted as common
and widespread.[1]

The evident prevalence of simony from the fourth century onward has been
attributed to the Church's rapid accumulation of wealth and fiscal privileges,
which combined to make clerical office so appealing a career that men were
willing to employ any means to obtain it, including simony.[2] This argument,
however, leaves unexplained apparent anomalies in the history of simony du-
ring the fourth through sixth centuries. It does not explain, for example, why,
for a period when simony is known to have been common and officially pros-
cribed, only one instance survives of a prosecution for simony; or why Justi-
nian condemned simony on the one hand and yet, on the other, gave legal re-
cognition to the payment of various clerical entrance fees which would have
been considered simoniacal a century or two earlier.

To understand these anomalies, it is necessary to view the purchase of ec-
clesiastical office and preferment in relation to parallel practices in the impe-
rial civil administration. The smooth operation of the civil government relied
heavily on the complementary concepts of favor and influence.[3] *Gratia* and
suffragium were employed on behalf of relatives and friends who sought the
good will of a judge, for example, or the approval of a bureaucrat. Inherent in

1. Acts 8: 18-24; John Chrysostom, *La Virginité*, ed. H. Musurillo (Paris: Les Editions
du Cerf, 1966), 24. 2; *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. III, *Novellae*, eds. R. Schoell and G. Kroll
(Berlin, 1880-95), cxxiii. 1-3 and cxxxvii. 2. On simony in general, see A. Bride, "Simo-
nie," in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangeot, *et al.*, 15 vols.
in 30 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1905-50), cols. 2141-60; and A.H.M. Jones, *The Later
Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, 2 vols. (Nor-
man: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964), II, 909-10.

2. See for example, H.J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils* (St.
Louis, Mo., and London: B. Herder Book Co., 1937), p. 87.

3. R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations, 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven: Yale
Univ. Press, 1974), pp. 8-12; C. Collot, "La pratique et l'institution du suffragium au
Bas-Empire," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, IVth series, 43 (1965),
185-221, and *passim*.

gratia was a reciprocal relationship in which the recipient felt obliged to offer his good services whenever the original benefactor might request them. Favors were not to be returned with a pre-determined payment or *quid pro quo,* for these were inimical to the bonds of friendship or kinship which formed the putative bases on which *gratia* was extended.[4]

A person who lacked the ties of kinship or friendship necessary for obtaining *gratia* could, by the fourth century, purchase the services of someone who was better connected. The purchase of *suffragium*—influence—became a common means of obtaining favors, especially those pertaining to civil office and title. In contrast to the classical form of *gratia,* the purchase of *suffragium* involved an explicit and immediate *quid pro quo,* consisting of cash, movables, or real property. often governed by a formal, legally binding contract.

The emergence of purchased *suffragium* as a common practice can be related to the major administrative changes enacted by Diocletian and Constantine, which involved both a significant increase in the fiscal burdens that fell upon members of the municipal *curiae* and a policy of granting exemptions from these burdens to those men who held imperial office and title. The effect was to stimulate decurions and their sons to leave the local *curiae* and seek imperial office and title.[5] Since personal connections and recommendations counted more than particular skills or talents, those decurions who had good social connections could rely on *gratia* in their quest for dignities and offices.[6] Among the less well-connected, however, for whom traditional *gratia* was not always available or effective, wealth, in contrast with social connections. became an important means of obtaining the support of well-placed men.

When purchased *suffragium* began to appear, early in the fourth century, it was condemned by the emperors on a variety of grounds, among them that it allowed men to advance their careers "non merito . . . sed pretio," and that by making it easier for decurions to leave their *curiae* it put a heavy burden on those who stayed behind.[7] Nevertheless, the great appeal of purchased *suffragium* compelled its eventual acceptance by the government. In 362 a law of Julian formally recognized contracts of *suffragium* as part of Roman law;

4. The classical viewpoint is summed up in Cicero, *De officiis libri tres,* ed. R. Klotz, Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: sumptibus et typis B.G. Teubneri, 1869), II. 6. 21.
5. The relationship between the emergence of purchased *suffragium* in the civil administration and the influx of decurions has been established by Collot, p. 190. On the administrative changes, see Jones, II, 42-52 and 100-09.
6. The importance of personal connections and letters of recommendation has been described by Jones, I, 358.
7. *Codex Theodosianus,* in *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes,* eds. P. Krueger and T. Mommsen, 2 vols. in 3 (Berlin: apud Weidmannos, 1954), XII. 1. 86 (A.D. 381); and 1.25 (A.D. 338).

and in 394 this was confirmed and elaborated upon in a law of Theodosius.[8]

As purchase of *suffragium* became widespread and socially acceptable, office seekers no longer felt constrained to operate through middlemen—*mediatores, suffragatores*—and began to approach officeholders directly. By the sixth century many administrative posts had acquired customary prices, usually based on the emoluments of the office, which the entrant paid either to the incumbent (and often to certain of his fellow officeholders) or to the emperor.[9] To be sure, the use of money to secure office had not been previously unknown, but only in the fifth and sixth centuries did it become both common and formally recognized as part of the administrative machinery. In this sense the emergence of purchase, first of *suffragium* and then of office, represented a basic change in the legally and socially recognized operation of the civil government.

Purchase of office and influence also made its appearance in the Church during the fourth century. Basil wrote to some of his *chorepiscopoi*. "They say some of you receive money from those who are ordained." Other sources indicate that purchase was becoming common by the late fourth century, despite occasional prohibitions by bishops and church councils.[10] As in the civil government, the emergence of purchased office and influence coincided with the widespread entry of decurions into office. They were drawn to the Church by the various fiscal exemptions which clerical office conferred and by the growing wealth and status of that office.[11] Most of the Cappadocian bishops of the fourth century, for example, were of curial origin; and the one known case of an early Byzantine trial for simony involved six decurions who purchased their sees from the bishop of Ephesus in the late fourth century.[12]

As in the civil administration, those men who lacked adequate personal connections sometimes purchased the *suffragium* of men who were well-placed; but unlike the civil administration, the Church leadership never formally approved purchase as a legitimate means of securing office and preferment. Instead, the Church preserved the idea that office was a gift ($\delta\omega\rho\epsilon\dot{\alpha}\nu$) of God offered for personal merit, and as such incapable of being bought and sold. This position rested on two New Testament passages. The first was Jesus' ad-

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8. *Ibid.*, II. 29. 1 (A.D. 362); and discussion by W. Goffart, "Did Julian Combat Venal Suffragium? A Note to *CTh* 2. 29. 1," *Classical Philology*, 65 (1970), 145-51; *Codex Theodosianus*, II. 29. 2. (A.D. 394).

9. Jones, I, 393-96; and Collot, p. 211.

10. Saint Basil, Archbishop of Caesarea, *Letters, Volume 1 (1-185)*, tr. Agnes C. Way with Notes by R.J. Deferrari (Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1965), no. LIII; and Jones, II, 909.

11. Jones, II, 904-08.

12. T. Kopacek, "The Social Classes of the Cappadocian Fathers," *Church History*, 42 (1973), 453-61; and Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton (Cambridge, Eng.: The Univ. Press, 1928), p. li.

monition to his disciples, in Matthew 10:8, as he sent them off to preach: "Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons. You received as a gift, give as a gift (δωρεὰν δότε)." The second was the story, in Acts 8: 18-24, of how the recently converted Simon Magus tried to buy from St. Peter the power of bestowing the Holy Spirit. In refusing the offer Peter exclaimed: "May your silver follow you to perdition, because you thought you could obtain the gift (δωρεάν) of God with money."

From the fourth century on, Simon's attempt became the usual case cited in prohibitions of purchase. In his commentary on the Acts passage, Chrysostom asked: "Do you observe how on all occasions [these offices] are clear from money?"[13] The late-fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions* also cited Simon when it laid down the penalties for purchase: "If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon should obtain this dignity (ἀξία) through money, both he and the one who ordained him shall be deposed and also cut off from all communion, as was Simon Magus by me, St. Peter."[14] Additional condemnations, based either on the Acts passage or on Jesus' admonition, were promulgated in several eastern and western councils, including Chalcedon, and in an imperial law of 472.[15]

Despite the prohibitions, there appeared by the sixth century a practice which, although apparently a form of purchase, became common and even received imperial sanction in the legislation of Justinian. Newly installed clerics were frequently required to offer sums of money (*insinuitiva*) to the incumbent clergy: a priest, for example, might be asked to give a year's salary. Bishops were often expected to offer similar donations (*intronistica*) to the clergy of the bishops by whom they were installed. The size of the donations usually depended on the emoluments of the office, and amounted to many pounds of gold in the case of a wealthy bishopric.[16]

Except for occasional episcopal opposition, such as that by Severus of Antioch, who in the early sixth century ordered one of his suffragan bishops to stop exacting fees from new clergy, "on the pretext of making a profit for the Church," most clerics seem to have regarded the offerings as normal and pro-

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13. John Chrysostom, *In Acta Apostolica Homilia*, 18, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris: Lutetiae, 1857-66), LX, col. 145.

14. *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, ed. F.X. Funk (Paderborn: in libraria Ferdinandi Schoeningh, 1905), VIII. 47. 29.

15. The conciliar legislation has been set forth by Bride, col. 2144; and Jones, II, 909, n. 92. The civil law is *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. II: *Codex Iustinianus*, iii. 30 (31).

16. *Novella LVI* abolished the fees, but *CXXIII. 16* restored their legality and established the maximum size. The fees paid by bishops are regulated in *CXXIII. 3*. If, for example, a bishopric earned less than thirty pounds of gold annually but more than ten, the newly installed bishop paid no more than one-hundred solidi to the clergy of the consecrating bishop and two-hundred solidi to the clergy of the church whose bishop he had become.

per.[17] This was also the view of Justinian, who sought only to prevent abuses such as overcharging. The customary offerings were legitimate, he explained, as long as they were free from all the negotiations associated with buying and selling and did not exceed the traditional amounts.[18] This rationale was likely common among clerics in the sixth century, but in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the donations were just beginning to appear, they must have been rationalized on some basis other than tradition. The nature of the earlier rationale may be determined from an examination of the sole surviving account of an early Byzantine trial for simony, that related by Palladius of Helenopolis concerning events that occurred around the turn of the fifth century.[19]

The trial began in 400, when Eusebius, Bishop of Valentinopolis, came to Constantinople and accused his metropolitan, Antoninus of Ephesus, of numerous ecclesiastical offenses, including the sale of bishoprics. Patriarch John Chrysostom, to whom the charges were addressed, after discerning in Eusebius a personal animus against Antoninus, asked him to permit a few bishops who happened to be in the capital to resolve the matter informally, but when Eusebius vehemently refused the formal inquiry began. For various reasons it was not completed for another two years, during which time Eusebius made up his quarrel with Antoninus and attempted to hinder the investigation. Then Antoninus died and his clergy wrote Chrysostom, urging him to arrange for a successor and to prevent the see from being purchased by one of the numerous men who sought it.

When Chrysostom finally managed to reconvene the inquiry at Ephesus, in 402, the bishops who had assembled there to sit in judgment decided to confine the examination to the charge they considered the most serious: Antoni-

17. *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis,* ed. E.W. Brooks, 2 vols. in 4 (London: Published for the Text and Translation Society by Williams and Norgate, 1902-04), I. 13: I, pt. 1.

18. In *Novella CXXIII. 1* Justinian forbade the election of bishops: "neque propter aliquam donationem neque promissionem. . . ." In *CXXIII. 2. 1,* he prohibited anyone from being installed as a bishop "per suffragium auri (διὰ δόσεως χρυσίου) aut aliarum rerum." But these restrictions were then tempered by *CXXIII. 3,* which allowed a bishop, either before or after his consecration, to offer some or all of his property to the church of which he was to be bishop: ". . . and we declare him free from all condemnation and punishment regarding the present law, but we even declare him worthy of all praise, since this is not sale, but offering [*quoniam hoc non est emptio sed oblatio:* οὐκ ἐστν ἀγορασία, ἀλλὰ προσφορά]." The determining factor seems to have been the lack of any prior agreement or contract which could have made the transaction a matter of buying or selling. A little farther on, after declaring that the entrance fees were legitimate as long as they conformed to custom (*consuetudo*), Justinian concluded that if all of his provisions were observed, holy offices would not become matters of sale, ". . . ut non. . . sacerdia venalia fiant."

19. Palladius, xlviii-li. There are several cases of clerics being accused of simony, Jones, II, 909, nn. 91-92, but not of actual prosecutions.

nus "regarded it as law and dogma to sell consecration to bishoprics at prices in proportion to the emoluments."[20] Since Antoninus was dead, the onus fell mainly upon the six bishops accused of having purchased their offices from him. When various lay and clerical witnesses set forth in detail the "nature of the pledges exchanged" in the negotiations which preceeded the consecrations, "the Six" admitted to having given Antonius money: ". . . we have given [money], it is admitted, and we became [bishops], believing such to be proper, so that we might expect to be free of curial obligations."[21] Although admitting their purchase, the Six explained that they had acted in the belief that such conduct was ἀκολουθίαν, proper or consonant with right order; and they added, "And now we ask that we remain in the service of the Church, if it is permitted by divine law (ὅσιον)." The Six seem to have regarded their purchases as legitimate dealings which later happened to conflict with the scruples of the bishops judging them. John meted out lenient punishment: removal from office; his own petition to the emperor for their release from curial burdens; and the right of recovering their money from Antoninus' heirs.

Chrysostom's lenient treatment suggests that when the Six claimed they had acted according to "right order" (ἀκολουθίαν) they had some social custom or law on their side. The law is not far to seek, for, just eight years earlier, an edict of Theodosius had set forth the provisions by which purchased *suffragium* in the civil bureaucracy was formally recognized and regulated. The edict, describing a standard type of agreement for *suffragium* virtually identical with the procedure described by Palladius, begins: "If persons who wish to have their desires set forth should request that influence [*suffragium*] be exercised for them by anyone, and if they should bind themselves by contract [*sponsione*] to repay the favors [*promissa*], they must fulfill their promises when they have gained what they desire."[22] In the case of the Six, pledges of movable property, probably jewelry belonging to their wives, were given to Antoninus in the presence of witnesses, implying the making of a formal agreement, with full payment due at a later date. The lack of any written contract, which had it existed would surely have been put in evidence, is explained by the next section of Theodosius' edict, which declares that in the case of a transaction involving money or movable property no written contract is necessary.

The similarity between the type of agreement described in the edict and the procedure outlined by Palladius suggests that the Six thought they were purchasing not ecclesiastical office *per se,* but rather *suffragium.* To buy *suffragium* was a familiar concept for decurions, such as the Six, and this fami-

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20. Palladius, xlviii.
21 *Ibid.,* li.
22. *Codex Theodosianus,* II. 29. 22 (A.D. 394).

liarity must have commended the procedure to Antoninus. The appeal of a procedure familiar to all the parties was enhanced by the lack, up to that time, of any canonical pronouncements on the propriety of purchasing ecclesiastical influence, as distinct from office. The Six were thus able to assert with some credibility that they had acted according to "right order" when they secured their bishoprics.[23] The bishops sitting in judgment were therefore confronted by a procedure which, although seemingly improper when applied in the Church, nonetheless was firmly established, legally enforceable, and socially acceptable in the civil sphere.

Because of these intertwined civil and ecclesiastical aspects, the bishops decided to treat the matter in two parts. They resolved the ecclesiastical aspect by the decision—implicit in the deposition of the Six for simony—to regard purchase of *suffragium* as tantamount to purchase of office. The civil aspect was then considered when the Six, hearing of their deposition, petitioned for recovery of the property they had given Antoninus.[24] The bishops had then to decided whether or not there were any grounds in civil law which might allow the Six to argue that Antoninus had somehow failed to fulfill his part of the *suffragium* agreement. They decided in the affirmative, probably on the grounds that Church law forbade sale of bishoprics. Since the sale of *suffragium* was equivalent to sale of office, Antoninus had tried to sell what was not in his power to sell, and so had never discharged his half of the agreement to install the Six as bishops.[25] The matter then ceased to be an ecclesiastical affair and became a civil case for the recovery of property from the heirs of a person who had defaulted in contract.

Despite the clear condemnation of Antonius and the Six, however, the trial did not seriously inhibit the purchase of ecclesiastical office. Although potential sellers of office must have taken pause at the equation of purchased influence with office *per se,* as well as at the precedent of allowing the purchasers to recover their property from the seller, potential buyers of Church offices were only encouraged, because they now had the right to recover their investments even if they were later deposed for simony. Since the buyers ran a greatly reduced risk of losing their property, the effective restraints against purchase remained what they had always been, moral and theological, whereas the prevalence of purchase in the civil sphere offered a constant reminder of what the judicious use of wealth could achieve.

23. It has usually been thought that the Six had no real defense. W. Bright, *The Age of the Fathers: Being Chapters in the History of the Church during the Fourth and Fifth Centuries,* 2 vols. (London; New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), II, 47, accused them of "pretending that they understood the money to be only what was usually paid for exemption from 'curial' or municipal burdens."

24. Palladius, li.

25. It was a principle of Roman civil law that a non-owner could not alienate a thing without the owner's consent, and that any attempt to do so made the contract automatically void. See F. Schulz, *Classical Roman Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), p. 335.

Nevertheless, the trial did have a significant impact on the nature of purchase, in that the decision to treat *suffragium* as equivalent to office virtually eliminated the advantage of buying influence as distinct from office, without, however, changing the advantages of obtaining an ecclesiastical post or title. Once office-seekers grasped this, they began buying directly from officeholders, and eventually each office acquired a fixed entry fee. After the passage of time had lent social acceptance to these *insinuitiva* and *intronistica,* and their practice passed beyond reasonable doubt, they found official approval in the laws of Justinian. The trial of Antoninus was one moment in the process of acceptance, and Antonius himself was merely one of many clerics who practiced a technically improper, socially approved procedure which, despite Scriptural and ecclesiastical disapproval, eventually received imperial legitimation under the guise of custom.

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